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THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

LIFE IN PARIS.

Paris, *April* 23, 1858.

Bernard's Acquital—The final issue of an action brought against Mr. Perrotin by the Queen of Sweden, daughter of Prince Eugene de Beauharnais—Marshal Castellane at Marseilles—The Weather—The Imperial Family—Liszt, the Pianist.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Should we judge of the state of public feeling by the tenor of the Imperial organ, and especially by that of a more bigoted Christian journal, a warm advocate of Catholicism, every man, woman, and child, in France, is indignant at the jury, the judges, the lawyers, and the people of England in general, for the acquittal of the French refugee, Bernard, arraigned as an accomplice of Orsini in the attempt made January 14th to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon. The Napoleon party is undoubtedly furious at the final result of that trial, for it was confidently expected in France that the English nation would sacrifice that Frenchman, guilty or not guilty, to gratify the wounded pride of the Emperor, and to smooth over the ruffled feelings of his party. But, as Bernard's lawyer said, "the English are not afraid of six hundred thousand French bayonets;" and the jury did not see fit to condemn one man to please another.

The *Univers*, the standard-bearer of the Holy See, and bitter enemy of the English and American heretics, says: "It looks as if war were inevitable between the two allies; and the English press is making every possible effort to increase the irritated state of feeling existing with one party in France." The *Times*, in reply to the remarks made by the French press with respect to the occupation of the island of Perim, and the filibustering propensities of the Anglo-Saxon race, recently expressed itself in the most insolent terms with respect to the so-called French engineers meddling in matters concerning none but the English themselves.

Nothing can prevent an outbreak of hostility, except the reciprocal commercial interest of both countries. Since the time of Napoleon I, the commercial interests of France have become so intimately interwoven with those of England and other countries, that a war would be ruinous to all. Should the party perceive that its interests were in danger, it would not hesitate to join the Republicans, and assist in upsetting the present dynasty, to uphold its commercial relations. Napoleon must be aware of it, and without doubt has studied the history of his uncle with care enough to be convinced of the faults he committed; and aware, as he must be, that the dynasty of the Napoleons is only secure under the development of the art of peace, he will take care that the doors of the temple of Janus remain closed.

I made mention in a previous letter of an action brought before the Civil Tribunal by the Queen of Sweden and the other children of the late Prince Eugene Beauharnais against Mr. Perrotin, the publisher, to compel him to insert in all new editions of the *Memoires du Marechal Marmont Duc de Raguse*, certain documents calculated to disprove an assertion injurious to the honor of the Prince, made in that work. The allegation in question was to the effect that, in 1813, when France was invaded by the allies, the Emperor Napoleon ordered Prince Eugene to bring into France the army of Italy, which he then commanded, but that the Prince disobeyed, in order to promote his own personal interests—that disobedience being an act of treason to the Emperor and to France. On the part of the Queen and the other plaintiffs, documents emanating from distinguished contemporaries, and even letters and despatches of Napoleon himself, were produced to prove that the statement of Marmont was a gross calumny. On the part of Mr. Perrotin, it was contended that it was justified by facts which had notoriously occurred, and that, at all events, Marshal Marmont had not exceeded the bounds allowed to the historian in passing an unfavorable judgment on the conduct of Prince Eugene.

The final issue of the action was, that Marshal Marmont's assertions were declared calumnious, and that M. Perrotin was condemned to insert a rectification in all future editions. Against this judgment that gentleman appealed to the Imperial Court, and the Court was occupied three days in the course of the past fortnight in hearing arguments in the case. The former counsel was employed in the case on both sides, and the same arguments urged. On Saturday last, the Imperial Court gave judgment to the following effect: That the fact imputed to Prince Eugene by the Duc de Raguse, of having received, in November, 1813, express orders to bring back to France the army he commanded, and having disobeyed for the sake of his own interest, is false; that it is proved by a number of documents, which, from their date, the terms in which they are drawn up, the names and qualities of the persons from whom they emanate, and the details which they give, cannot be controverted, that the order to return to France to take part in the conflict engaged in against the Allies, only reached Prince Eugene towards the end of January, 1814; that it was conditional; and that at the time the condition was accomplished, circumstances rendered the execution of the order completely useless; that not only did Prince Eugene not desert the cause of Emperor Napoleon I, but he rejected all the propositions made by the allied sovereigns to shake his fidelity. The court further declared that the children of the Prince had the right to free the memory of their father from the opprobrium cast on it by Marmont; and the liberty of history did not justify a writer in indulging in falsehood and malevolence. It therefore confirmed the judgment of the civil tribunal, and ordered that its own judgment should be mentioned in the publication to be made by Mr. Perrotin. Lastly, it condemned Mr. Perrotin to pay all the costs.

During the late visit of Marshal de Castellane (one of the five military governors) at Marseilles, an interesting incident occurred one day, when he was reviewing the troops. To his great annoyance, a sergeant, with three stripes on his arm, and moustaches white with age, stepped out of the ranks, and presented arms to the Marshal, thereby indicating that his wish was to hold a conference with his commander. The Marshal gave a sharp glance at him, stopped, and asked, rather snappishly, what he might want. The old veteran politely replied, that he only desired to pay a debt of gratitude of very long standing, as, while he was a garrison comrade of the Marshal, who was then only a private in the 5th dragoons, the latter had saved his life when on the point of perishing, whilst bathing in the river Loire. Never having since that time seen his old colleague, he was forced to avail himself of that opportunity to tell him that the service he had rendered him was not, nor would ever be, forgotten by him. The Marshal shook the old soldier warmly by the hand, and asked him if he could be of any service to him. "*Non, ma foi! non, Marshal,*" said the old sergeant; "I have cross, I am in good health, have all I want, the nephew of the *Petit Corporal* is at the Tuileries, and that is all I have ever prayed to God for."

The weather continues beautiful, and the accounts from all parts of France are most cheering, with respect to the favorable state of the crops. The much-dreaded *Lune Russe* has thus far belied its bad reputation with the farmers, and without some unexpected atmospheric changes before the middle of May, there is every prospect of unexceptionable crops of all kinds.

The Imperial family are soon expected to remove to their summer residence at St. Cloud, where preparations are being made to receive them.

The Queen of Holland and the Princess Olga are to reach Fontainebleau about the 10th of the coming month, and will most probably spend the greater part of their visit there.

The following extraordinary example of eccentricity is related by a Swedish journal:

"Dr. Rhuders, physician, has set to music the palpitations and irregular beatings of the heart of a female, who is a patient in the hospital at Upsal. This disease, written in musical notes, with quavers and semiquavers, forms," says the journal, "a kind of waltz, and is one of the greatest curiosities of pathological anatomy."

It is reported that the great pianist, Liszt, was solemnly received, on the 11th inst, into the order of Franciscans at Pesth.

THE MISSIONARY EXPLORER.

From Blackwood.

It is some time since any volume has made so much noise, or excited so great an interest as the narrative of Dr. Livingstone. This is the story of a remarkable man, but it is not otherwise a remarkable book; and it is to the credit of this generation, which loves "style" so much, and is so greatly influenced by literary graces, that a work so entirely devoid of both should, nevertheless, have attained so remarkable a popularity. We permit the great Whig historian to put upon record almost anything he pleases, because not a man of us has the heart to condemn a narrative so fascinating; and we receive the wildest caprices of an amateur as serious criticism on art, simply because nature has gifted the said amateur with the most wonderful graces of language; yet we are not so unreasoning in our admirations as we seem. When a man has really something to tell us, we are content that he should tell it in his own way. It is a large testimonial to the good sense of the age, which, after all, cannot be so superficial as people call it. Dr. Livingstone has a report to make, of travels and an enterprise, quite wonderful, and, we presume, almost unparalleled. He says, with evident truth, that he would rather undertake his journey over again, than write his account of it; and, accordingly, no one attempts to judge him on a ground he does not attempt to take. He is not a literary man, nor a dilettanti. He holds the pen in a toil-hardened hand, which has been more familiar with axe and gun than with the dainty implements of civilized life. What he has to tell us of is an unknown and undeveloped continent, the fourth quarter of the world; a country hitherto shut up and barred by unhealthy coasts and untracked deserts; a great, savage, impenetrable waste, where the great old lords of the forest still exist and reign; where the least religious race of the world live their naked life of exposure and privation; and upon the coast of which our own Empire, the biggest policeman in the universe, keeps an expensive and half-successful watch, lest the poor black souls, for whom we can do nothing better, should be stolen and sold away. Dr. Livingstone, however, means to do something better for them. He has been high up into the home of the race, where there is neither policeman nor slave trade, but villagefuls and tribes of trainable human creatures like ourselves. He has seen the natural highways which track that silent and unrepresented territory. The soil has disclosed to him its voiceless secrets in leaf of tree and form of weed, which tell tales of unmade fortune to the educated eye. He has found out how men can live and travel in the deserts, and how commerce may enter and flourish. He comes home laden with hopes, prospects, and promises—the noble idea that he is adding power and wealth to his own country, while he carries salvation to another; and it is all this, the promises, the prospects, the hopes—a capacity which seems to him unlimited, yet a want which is touching and excessive—which make up the importance of Dr. Livingstone's book. All this he knows—all this he has come to tell, anxiously and earnestly—and to this with one accord, and without any depreciatory criticisms, the public has been heartily content to incline its serious ear.

While we write, he is just about returning out of a serious course of lion or hero worship, which, it is to be hoped, has done no worse for him than to bore and weary his spirit. Dr. Livingstone's fame and popularity have spread much beyond the limits of any peculiar circle; but for real, hearty, sincere hero-worship, fooling to the very top of one's bent, there is certainly no community in existence half so successful as "the religious public." The lion of the coteries is nothing to the lion of the churches, and we trust that the African apostle has not found the ordeal too hard for him. He goes out with all the encouragements and aids which science can bestow upon him, with an unparalleled amount of public sympathy, and with even the recognition and authority of Government to give dignity to his further labors; and it now remains to be seen what capabilities remain in the office which he has already raised in honorable reputation, and from which he has taught us to expect in the future still greater results.

It is not necessary, after everybody has heard from this traveller's own lips so much as it was needful to tell of his own history, to give any sketch of that here. He was one of those Scotch students who never could by any chance be fellows of Christ Church or Trinity—one of those grave laborers towards a special end, who strike through Latin and Greek, perhaps without any remarkable devotion to those exclusive and jealous channels of learning, mastering so much as must be mastered amid the cark of daily labors—a man who did not pursue his education through the hard struggle of its acquirement merely for education's sake, with the disinterested zeal of an Oxford scholar, but who worked hardly through his necessary *curiiculum* as a means, and not as an end. Reading amid the clatter of machinery in a Glasgow mill taught the future explorer how to read and write amid the clatter of surrounding savages; and the hardness of a poor man's early life trained him for the privations of his mission. He went out of the heart of the Scottish peasant-world, while most Cottar fathers still justified the picture of the Saturday Night; he worked his way through medical training and theological lectures, indebted to no one; and, finally, by dint of disappointment in his first idea of going to China, fell into the office and vocation appointed for him, and for which he has shown himself so fit. He went to Africa eighteen years ago, to join the missionary party which has already made itself celebrated by the narrative and labors of Moffat, married there the daughter of his predecessor, and lived the usual life of a missionary—at the parent station in the first place, and afterwards at one founded by himself, which a long drought and a raid of Boers at last compelled him to abandon—for nearly ten years. Then the *afflatus* of the explorer came upon this prophet in the desert. He began to discover, and the impulse grew upon him—but it is only after a long course of quiet life and unrecorded exertions among those savages—exertions which seem to have spread his influence widely among them, but which it is not easy to trace in his story, where all the ordinary details of missionary experience are omitted, and which is, probably in consequence, somewhat confused and hurried as a narrative, and not to be followed easily—that the characteristic feature of his personal vocation begins to be developed. This, which is the great distinction of Dr. Livingstone's work and book, is a long, toilsome, solitary, and, most remarkable of all, *successful* journey, from one end to another of the scorching continent, of which this event has made him a kind of moral superior and suzerain.

The occasion of this remarkable undertaking is perhaps as singular as the enterprise itself. The missionary, obliged to abandon the first scene of his independent labors at Kolobeng, where a tyrannical and barbarous colony of African Dutchmen opposed and insulted both himself and his pupils, set out up country towards the lands of a remarkable chief, whose territory he intended to make his future centre of operations. He carried all his patriarchal and primitive wealth, his wife and his children, with him into the new region—meaning to settle there; but that was not his appointed service, as it appeared. The great chief died almost at the moment of the stranger's arrival; the locality was still unhealthful—exposed to fever and malaria; and, most momentous of all, signs of an incipient slave trade appeared to the jealous eyes of the missionary. The Makololo gentlemen were splendid in garments of red and green baize, and dressing-gowns of printed calico; and the manner in which they had attained these grandeurs was by a beginning of slave barter, fatal to the hopes of their new teacher. The Mambari, a tribe of native traders, had brought these tempting vanities for the first time among the nobler savages for whom Dr. Livingstone was chiefly concerned. Sebituane, the chief already mentioned, was a conqueror and warrior, the chief of a superior and triumphant race. He had already subdued under his own sway a population of primitive helots, of whom his Makololo were the patrician and governing class. This primitive prince and legislator could not resist the temptation of acquiring guns, even by the sacrifice of servants. He consented to sell the children of his tributaries for those precious firearms, and his subjects followed his example, though not without excuses and compunctions. But the evil had begun, though slightly, and the missionary found himself called upon to act with energy and promptitude. He explains thus, in his own words, his first reason for his journey:

"In talking with my companion over these matters, the idea was suggested, that if the slave market was supplied with articles of European manufacture by legitimate commerce, the trade in slaves would become impossible. It seemed more feasible to give the goods, for which the people now part with their servants, in exchange for ivory and other products of the country, and thus prevent the trade at the beginning, than try to put a stop to it at any of the subsequent steps. This could only be effected by establishing a highway from the coast to the centre of the country.

"As there was no hope of the Boers allowing the peaceable instruction of the natives at Kolobeng, I at once resolved to save my family from exposure to this unhealthy region by sending them to England, and to return alone, with a view to exploring the country in search of a healthy district that might prove a centre of civilization, and open up the interior by a path to either the east or the west coast."

Thus, while the British Empire stood with its pistols and cruisers on the coast, a grand sentry and watchman, to interrupt the guilty convoys on their exit, the stout Scotsman in the interior set himself to dam up the fountain-head of this stream of bitterness. Geographical science and natural history may and do benefit largely by the missionary's discoveries; but this enterprise was not undertaken for the benefit of either. Let the interests of humanity for once triumph over the inquisitions of knowledge. Dr. Livingstone's sextant and thermometer were very secondary adjuncts of his mission. He kept his eyes about wherever he went, and put everything down—savage life, in all its primitive wildness, compelled a savage particularity of observation; but any one who supposes this enterprise a geographical or scientific one, fails entirely in appreciating its true motive. The traveller notes latitudes and longitudes, trees and grasses, wild beasts and insects; he has interest enough in all of them to give a natural enlivenment and occupation to his journey, but his heart is with the humane object he has in hand. Through swamps and tropical forests, through hostile villages and unfriendly savages, he stumbles on upon his "ill-willy" ox, with one distinct endeavor in his mind, which is, neither to do a feat of travel nor to make himself a hero of the Geographical Society, but to find or form a practicable highway for the native productions of his Makololo—to make a clear and legitimate way for them, and for all inland Africa, to the markets and merchandise of the world—and to free them, as he hopes, at once and forever, from the trade in slaves.

Such was the real object of Dr. Livingstone's journey. It is, beyond everything else, a transient and bold blow at the slave trade in its very cradle and origin; and, through the slave trade, at Slavery in all its developments. It is the only modern unbelligerent attempt, of which we are aware, to cure and conquer this sad disease of humanity. It may fail, as everything else may which is in the hands of mortal agents. The traveller, it is probable, may not be entirely correct in all his speculations. The rude physical force of nature, in the primitive form of the snout of a hippopotamus, may stave the delicate steam launch in which science, trade, and charity, mean to explore the Zambesi. An inopportune cascade at an undiscovered point may put out all the calculations of the voyage, or a sudden fever may strike the party into helplessness. Still, notwithstanding, here remains the idea, which is indestructible, and partially worked out. Congress itself, in its stormiest midnight discussion, would not dare to present its revolver to the breast of Livingston. He is not an Abolitionist, nor a Free-Soiler; he is not even one of those earnest and eager philanthropists, on whose labor of love experience and time have begun to throw clouds, which it is to be hoped further time and expanded experience will lighten—the slave-emancipators of our West Indian possessions. There is no war in his thoughts, nor in his enterprise. But if his promises are to be depended on—and they seem to carry reason with them, as well as strong confirmatory evidence—all his conclusions are trustworthy, a matter which we can more easily judge for ourselves—there is in the hope and project of Dr. Livingstone a work which will nullify defeat, and make useless the whole system of Slavery. This is a great thing to say—and so long as the plan remains almost wholly a theoretical and untried one, it may look like a brag and piece of boasting. How Dr. Livingstone's savages may answer to the motives and necessities of civilization, whether there is industry and courage in them sufficient to make free labor practicable and satisfactory, how far Sekeletu in the desert is superior to Quashee in the islands, are all questions unresolved and doubtful. These, however, do not alter the great conception which has impelled the missionary to his unparalleled toils. He may be wrong or mistaken; but if he is not, he seems to have got a real hold upon the end of the clue which may lead us through all the intricate mazes which environ it, to the very innermost fortress and citadel of Slavery, there to build in and wall up the decrepid giant, where he can oppress a race no more.

Impelled by his two great ideas—to make a road to the coast, and to find out a healthy and practicable site for a central settlement and metropolis of civilization—Dr. Livingstone, with a train of native assistants and attendants, all of whom seem to have had soul enough to understand so far his immediate object, and who were perfectly alive to the importance of a good price and open market for their ivory, set out from the primitive capital of his Makololo chief, towards the Portuguese settlement of Loando, on the west coast. This journey was only so far successful that it was accomplished in safety, though at the cost of many privations and a great deal of suffering. The party, which was a large one, made their way, after leaving the upper part of the great river, which carried them on so far in comparative comfort from village to village, across an unknown country. The account is interesting, and full of incident; it is not, however, particularly promising in respect to the early effect produced upon these savage races by their first contact with Europeans. As soon as the travellers emerge from the unexplored country, where neither chief nor people have ever seen a white man, the natives whom they encounter become avaricious, grasping, and untrustworthy—the primitive usage of hospitality ceases; and even for the poor provisions with which they are scantily supplied, the demand of "a man, a gun, or an ox," is made incessantly. This is, however, "the slave-path," which accounts for everything—the slave-traders who traverse it being compelled, by the nature of their traffic and of the country, wild as it is, and offering every facility for the escape of their victims, to yield to perpetual exactions from the inhabitants. In spite of all this, however, and through the greatest sufferings and dangers, Dr. Livingstone and his party at last reached the Portuguese settlement, where the heart of the missionary was rejoiced by the sight and kindness of an Englishman, and where the Makololo made themselves acquainted with the marvels of civilization. They went back with guns, clothing, and presents, full of complacency and importance, feeling themselves "the true ancients, who had reached to the end of the world." But their leader conducted them home with a mind still dissatisfied and inquiring; it was clear that his "highway" of civilization could not be made to Loando. Those steaming swamps and tropical forests, bound into impenetrability by immense creepers, which could only be cut through by a hatchet, were totally impracticable. He had neither found the healthy region nor the road to the coast.

Accordingly, after a toilsome and fever-obstructed return, the indefatigable traveller set out again upon a second journey from the same point, Linyanti, the town of Sekeletu, with another escort of natives, and bound to the other side of the continent, hoping to trace the course of the Zambesi, and quite undaunted by the non-success of his first endeavor. This last journey is the climax and conclusion of the work, so far as it has yet advanced. All the discoveries of immediate importance, so far as the missionary's large schemes of benevolent statesmanship went, were made during its course; and Dr. Livingstone had the satisfaction of finding himself right and justified in both his great hopes for Africa. He found, and skirted for a long distance, the river which had inspired him with the thought of redemption for this helpless continent; and he found also upon its banks a region where he himself brightened into the exhilaration of restored health, where all the deleterious influences of climate were modified, and where, he feels convinced, European settlements could flourish, and might be established without fear. Having made sure of both these inestimable facts to his own satisfaction, he went on with a light heart to the coast, leaving his convoy, until his return, to live and work among the Portuguese at Tete; and from Kilimane, on the East African coast, close to the delta of the Zambesi, at which point he will once again take up the thread of his labors, the adventurer returned into a world which had learned to know him, while he had very nearly forgotten it.

These, then, are the substantial results which he presents in justification of his own hopes, and of the endeavors to which he would anxiously persuade his countrymen. While he travelled and wandered through the African swamps and thickets, he did not know that the insatiate maw of the British giant watered for more cotton, and that political economy and private enterprise were looking out anxiously for new soil fit to produce the precious material which at present gives an undesirable monopoly to the American slaveholders; but he did convince himself that his Africa was not only a cotton-consuming but a cotton-producing soil, able to repay largely the efforts of any enterprising laborers who gave its capabilities a fair trial. The acknowledged deficiency put new heart into the wearied traveller. He had seen beforehand how valuable would be the check of this new and productive field upon the old slave-ground; but as the necessity increases, the advantage grows with it. Then there is indigo growing wild, a precious weed, over the unregarded soil—plantations of sugar cane so extensive that our traveller says of one, "four thousand men eating it during two days did not finish the whole"—coffee possible in most places, and in some actually accomplished, not to speak of physics without end, wholesome senna, beloved of nurseries, and precious quinine. All this Dr. Livingstone offers us, with healthy quarters, lovely scenery, abundant food, neighbors neither ferocious nor intractable by nature, and deeply impressed with the importance of our national character, on the banks of his noble Zambesi, only a few days from the sea. The offer is certainly very tempting. There is sufficient draught of water everywhere for a Thames steamer, and seams of coal in convenient proximity to supply these handy little demons with their indispensable food; and there is air which English lungs can safely breathe, and a sun not too scorching for English constitutions to bear. If Dr. Livingstone is right, a European colonist might reach his healthful African home, even through the dangerous fringe of that unwholesome coast, with little greater danger than any man encounters who has to pass through a marshy or malarious district on his way home; while the natural gifts of this territory, at present of little use even to its scanty and barbarous inhabitants, seem almost inexhaustible. Add to all this the certainty that our trade and our merchants cannot go thither without carrying inevitable advantages with them—that the first cotton plantation in Africa tended by freemen will be the first real and effectual stroke at the "institution" of Slavery—more effectual and real than any sudden scheme of local emancipation; and there can be little doubt that Dr. Livingstone's scheme calls for the most serious attention from his own country and the civilized world.

And it does not seem easy to perceive on the surface any particular resemblance of character between the native tribes of the African desert and the "typical negro" of the civilized imagination. Dr. Livingstone's clients are unquestionable savages; but they are not the gay, merry, thoughtless, inconsequent Sambos, music and laughter-loving, of the American plantations, nor the indolent and insolent drones of the West Indian Islands. Perhaps the race is a different race before it comes through that alembic of Slavery, which transmutes its better metal, and leaves a stain even upon the dross which it needs generations to wear away. If British enterprise prepared the field only to fill it with a new and abundant crop of this wholly impracticable animal, all the charms with which Dr. Livingstone has endowed his newly-explored dominions would be insufficient to justify the experiment.

But the negro of civilization—the actual or the emancipated slave—seems, so far as we are able to judge from the sketches of Dr. Livingstone, a perfectly inadequate representative of the native african. The Makololo who accompanied the missionary to Loando not only persevered with very tolerable courage through that painful journey, but on their arrival there set themselves to work, as soon as they found out how they could do it, with a most praiseworthy and honorable alacrity. They became wood-cutters, and drove a flourishing trade, maintaining themselves by their own exertions. On his second and more successful expedition, the result was the same, though, as that must be reckoned only half completed, our information is less full. Their conduct in regard to their leader seems to have been perfectly honest, faithful, and exemplary, and even the strangers among whom he fell on his road behaved, on the whole, with great discretion and very tolerable kindness. There seems, indeed no ground to suppose that these reasonable savages, whose wits are sharpened by a constant struggle against all the rude necessities of nature, could be transmogrified by a good fortune, which came in the shape of active employment and stimulated industry, into such an unreflective and frivolous being as the contented slave or the idle freedman of Jamaica. On this, however, must depend, in a very great measure, the success of the experiment, which seems otherwise so promising.

But it is necessary to remember that the first motive of the missionary is not the spread of trade, the increase of valuable produce, or the extension of the markets of the world. His primary object is the benefit of these same voiceless savages, for whom no one else takes much regard. It was to secure their ignorance against the devices of the slave-trader, to expand their intelligence, and to influence their hearts, that Livingstone set out upon his long journey. It was the earnestness of his solicitude for *them* that kept him undiscouraged in the failure of his first enterprise; it was the same untiring regard which prompted him to set out once more on a second expedition; and it is that which now carries him back, with all his hopes of an opened country and a beginning trade, to resume his labors among them. It is clear, therefore, that *he* has no particular dread of making a Quashee of his Makololo, and that the idea of improving, civilizing, and elevating this race is no Utopian thought to the individual who knows them best. Religion has never before made so great a testimony to honorable English commerce, and its beneficial results, as by thus calling in its aid, as the strongest auxiliary of its own efforts, and never has made a stronger protest against the iniquitous trade of the man-stealer, than by these extraordinary individual efforts to supplant and defeat him. By so much as Dr. Livingstone's enterprise is not a purely missionary one, it is a directly Anti-Slavery expedition—an aim at the heart of that peculiar institution. He may be wrong—he is probably not so much wiser than all his fellow-creatures as to be infallibly correct in all his conclusions. It may be much harder than Dr. Livingstone supposes to gain possession of this continent, or to turn its riches to account; but if there is only so much truth in his discoveries as it is reasonable to expect from the candid researches of an honest and good man, the issues are scarcely to be limited.

IOWA CORRESPONDENCE.

Le Claire, Iowa, *May* 8, 1858.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Twelve years ago, when the only *direct* (?) communication between Iowa and Chicago was by stage or lumber wagon, over rail bridges and through seas of black mud, when many intelligent persons declared that a railroad over a Western prairie was an impossibility, there were not wanting philosophers and prophets who positively asserted—and *they* could not be mistaken—that the only part of Iowa which would or could be populated was the tier of counties bordering on the Mississippi, with perhaps a narrow strip on the Missouri; the interior would remain a wilderness. Being mathematicians as well as prophets, they could easily demonstrate that the value of a bushel of wheat raised one hundred miles from the river would be entirely absorbed by its cost of transportation thither.

The fact that the whole interior of the State is being rapidly filled up with hardy settlers, and the tide of civilization, enterprise, and wealth, has passed the imaginary bounds, and is now flowing steadily on even to the base of the Rocky Mountains, is sufficient commentary on the predictions so vauntingly proclaimed. And yet the difficulties which they foresaw have not yet been removed; on the contrary, they are increasing with each accession to the population. So long as each settler has his prairie to break and his fields to fence, the question as to how his produce is to reach a distant market will not be likely to be very troublesome; nor does it become at all a practical one until he is surrounded by a goodly number, who in their turn have become producers as well as consumers.

A large and rapidly-increasing portion of the interior of Iowa has passed this first stage, and entered on the second; hence *the* question of to-day with them is how to send away the grain they do not need, and obtain the cloth, the boots, the sugar, and the coffee, that they do need. Thus it is that now, in the midst of financial difficulties, the subject of railroads is being agitated with increasing zeal and interest.

The citizens of Burlington are endeavoring to secure the completion of their road westward. At a late meeting in that city, at which the Mayor presided, it was stated that if Burlington would comply with certain conditions, the company would engage to open the road to Agency City, in Wapello county, this season, and by June 1, 1859, to Ottumwa, on the Des Moines river.

The Mississippi and Missouri railroad, which has the advantage of being able to cross the Mississippi without breaking bulk, which has long been in successful operation from Davenport to Iowa City, and which ought to be the first road to reach the Missouri, is now being pushed on westward, much to the disappointment of all, save those interested in the growth of Iowa City; *they* are satisfied. These roads are absolutely indispensable to the growth and development of the districts through which they will pass, and their completion cannot be long delayed.

Last week, operations were renewed on the Port Byron and Sterling railroad. On the first division of five miles, one hundred and fifty men are at work, cutting down the hills and filling up the valleys. This road, though located in Illinois, will be a great advantage to this part of Iowa; it will give a direct communication between the head of the Upper Rapids and Chicago.

It is now beyond a doubt that Iowa has its gold regions. In Clark and Adair counties, numbers are at work washing the auriferous earth; but the reports from the "diggins" all agree in stating that no one has made much at it yet, the highest yield being five dollars per day. As yet, the reports have caused no excitement in other parts of the State, and it is to be hoped none will abandon the field or the shop, to search for that which can be more surely and more advantageously obtained from mother earth, in the shape of wheat and corn.

Some of our local newspapers are uttering gloomy forebodings as to the effect of our long-continued wet weather on the agricultural interests, but as yet there is no cause of alarm. I am assured by intelligent farmers that wheat looks very well, and could not be more promising. The only inconvenience, thus far, is that the work of preparation for corn planting cannot be very vigorously prosecuted, and will make that part of the work backward.

A word on the weather. An unusually warm March raised hopes and expectations which have been cooled down by a chilly and wet April. May came upon us weeping, and for three days refused to show us a smiling face; now, after *one* clear warm day, she is again in the lachrymose mood, and at present writing the "gentle showers" are steadily descending. How soon Aquarius will resign his sceptre to a more genial power, cannot be told. The barometer, however, gives no hope of speedy improvement; for more than two weeks its pointer has varied between the regions of "change" and "rain," without deigning to make a single visit to "fair."

The river is unusually high for the season; consequently, freights are low, much to the satisfaction of our merchants. The rates now are thirty cents per hundred from St. Louis to Davenport, and the same from the latter place to St. Paul.

E. R.

The "Retired Physician" and his "Sands of Life."—A letter was received last week by the Mayor of Jersey City, from a citizen of Onondaga county, in reference to the operations of "Old Doctor James." The following mode of operation was explained in detail: "You enclose him one shilling, and he will send the recipe; but after you have got it, you will discover an article in it that you cannot obtain, and so you must send to him for the medicine ready prepared at two dollars a bottle." It purports to be an extract of *cannabis indica*, or a preparation not widely different from the *hasheesh* of the East—an article of questionable value in consumptive disease, and certainly not warranting the price charged, except as it may contribute a few more "sands" to the depleted *cumulus* aready on the brink of exhaustion.

Mayor Westcott promptly replied that there is no such person as "Old Doctor James" in Jersey City, but an old man employed to personate him; and that the whole affair is understood to be an imposition.

For the National Era.

RE-SHINGLING OLD ROOFS.

I am fully convinced that millions of dollars might be saved in our country every year, by generally pursuing the following method:

Whenever a roof begins to leak, and you wish to re-shingle it, do not take off the old shingles—put the new shingles on the top of the old ones—but make use of six-penny nails in place of four-penny or shingle nails. The advantage of this method will consist in the following particulars:

1st. You will save the expense of removing the shingles.

2d. The building will not be exposed to wet, in case of rain, before it is finished.

3d. The roof will be much warmer and tighter.

4th. Neither snow nor rain can beat under the butts of the shingles, by heavy winds.

5th. The roof will last good full one-third longer.

I have tried this plan, and find it has these advantages.

It takes no more shingles, no more nails in number—only a little longer—and no more time to put them on, and, if done in a workmanlike manner, will look as well as if single. But it should be done before the old shingles are too much decayed. All the moss (if any) should be removed, or swept off with a stiff broom, before putting on the new shingles.

Plattsburgh. John T. Adams.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Maxims of Bishop Middleton.—Persevere against discouragements. Keep your temper. Employ leisure in study, and always have some work in hand. Be punctual and methodical in business, and never procrastinate. Never be in a hurry. Preserve self-possession, and do not be talked out of conviction. Rise early, and be an economist of time. Maintain dignity without the appearance of pride; manner is something to everybody, and everything with some. Be guarded in discourse, attentive and slow to speak. Never acquiesce in immoral or pernicious opinions. Be not forward to assign reasons to those who have no right to ask. Think nothing in conduct unimportant or indifferent. Rather set than follow examples. Practice strict temperance, and in your transactions remember the final account.

The following anecdote is told by a gentleman who visited Havelock while he was in London: In the course of conversation, Mrs. Havelock turned suddenly round to her husband, and said, "By the way, my dear, where is Harry?" referring to her son, whom she had not seen during the whole afternoon. The Colonel started to his feet: "Well, poor fellow, he's standing on London bridge, and in this cold too. I told him to wait for me there at twelve o'clock to-day; and, in the pressure of business at ——, I quite forgot the appointment." The father and son were to have met at twelve at noon, and it was now after seven in the evening; yet the father seemed to have no doubt that Harry would not move from his post until he appeared. The Colonel at once rose, ordered a cab to be called, and, as he went forth to deliver his son from his weary watch on London Bridge, he turned to excuse himself to his visiter, saying, "You see, sir, that's the discipline of a soldier's family." In the course of an hour the Colonel returned with poor Harry, who, although he appeared somewhat affected by the cold watch, and glad to see the fire in the comfortable parlor at home, seemed to have passed through the little afternoon's experience with the greatest good humor, and the feeling that all was right.

While the Duke of Wellington was living, his eldest son bore the title of Marquis of Douro, and, until matrimony sobered him, had the reputation of being a very "fast man." His pecuniary allowance was large but he ran in debt more largely, and among his creditors was a shoemaker.

The tradesman, finding his repeated requests for payment wholly unheeded—in fact that his noble creditor gave him *unremitting* attention—wrote to the Duke himself, as follows, on the subject: "Mr. Toplady, shoemaker at Dover, presents his duty to the Duke of Wellington, encloses a bill for £33. 15*s*. 4*d*. long owing to him by the Marquis of Douro, and begs that the Duke will see him paid." By return of post, Mr. Toplady received an autograph reply from Apsley House, (the Duke's London residence,) of which we are able to subjoin an exact copy, taken from the original, which, carefully framed and glazed, now hangs in the back parlor of the recipient, at Dover. It ran thus: "Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington has received a letter from Mr. Toplady, shoemaker at Dover, respecting the sum of £33 15*s*. 4*d*. which he says is due to him by the Marquis of Douro. The Duke does not pay the debts of the Marquis of Douro, nor collect those of Mr. Toplady, shoemaker at Dover." The money was paid, however, soon after. But, like St. Pierre, in "The Wife," Mr. Toplady, shoemaker at Dover, "kept the document."

We heard, the other day, a capital anecdote of a witty clergyman of this city, who is said never to come off second best in a jocular encounter:

As, one day, he was passing down one of the streets of a large village in this State, where he was settled, he was observed by some waggish hangers-on at a public-house, which he was approaching. One of these fellows, knowing that the reverend gentleman was a hard case at a joke, said that he would bet the drinks for all hands that he could head Mr. H——.

"Done," was the response, from a number.

As Mr. H—— came opposite the merry group, the proposer of the bet called to him. Mr. H—— halted and drew near, whereupon the confident chap thus addressed him:

"Mr. H——, we have a dispute here of some importance, which we have agreed to leave to you, as one competent to give a correct decision."

"Ah, what is it?"

"It is in relation to the age of the devil; will you tell us how old he is?"

"Gentlemen," said the imperturbable minister, "how can you presume me to be acquainted with matters of that sort? You must keep your own family records."

The minister went about his business, and the vanquished gentleman went in and treated freely.—*Nashua (N. H.) Oasis.*

Correcting a Statement.—"In one of the Southwestern States, a short time since," writes a friend, "the Rev. Dr. Hanson was addressing a large congregation, and asking a contribution for the Missionary cause. He argued that every man should give according to his means; and to illustrate, he said:

"Now, there is Colonel Smith, with a hundred thousand dollars, and raising a hundred bales of cotton every year. He ought to give a hundred dollars, at least."

It so happened that there was a Colonel Smith in the house; and as soon as the sermon was finished, and the collection begun, he arose and said he would give the one hundred dollars cheerfully, if the reverend gentleman would correct the statement about the cotton, as he didn't raise but half the amount mentioned.

Three Poets and One Coat!—In a late number of the Philadelphia *Press* is a sprightly dissertation on court dress, from which we quote the following curious history of a suit of clothes worn by three laureates: "Here we must mention in a parenthesis the adventures of a particular court-suit. Originally made for, paid for, and worn by Samuel Rogers, the bard, the beau, the banker, it performed yeoman's duty for him during many years. At last, somewhat about the age of eighty, the bard of memory put the dress by, in lavender. Soon after, Southey died, and Wordsworth was appointed to succeed him as poet-laureate. It was a point of etiquette for the new official to present himself at court and pay his respects to his royal mistress on his appointment. Strongly objecting to pay three hundred and fifty dollars for a new court-suit, he borrowed that in which Samuel Rogers had visited the royal drawing room half a century before, and thus attired, kissed hands. In a few years, Wordsworth also passed away, and Alfred Tennyson became poet-laureate. The court-suit of Mr. Rogers was again put upon duty, and duly encased the limbs of Tennyson as it had those of Wordsworth. *That* suit ought to figure in a collection of literary relics."

When flowers are full of heaven-descended dews, they always hang their heads; but men hold theirs the higher the more they receive, getting proud as they get full.

It is not well for man to pray, cream; and live, skim milk.

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS,

FIRST SESSION.

Wednesday, May 12, 1858.

SENATE.

Minnesota Senators.—Mr. Toombs presented the credentials of the Hon. Henry M. Rice, elected a Senator by the Legislature of Minnesota; which were read.

Mr. Harlan presented a remonstrance, signed by citizens of Iowa, against the admission of Mr. Rice, on the ground of alleged fraud and extortion in the sale of the Fort Crawford reservation.

This move led to quite a spirited discussion as to the propriety of offering such a paper at such a time, which was participated in by Messrs. Harlan, Toombs, Brown, Seward, Stuart, Benjamin, Bright, Pugh, and Davis; after which,

The oath prescribed by law was administered, and Mr. Rice took his seat.

Mr. Rice pledged himself to show the entire fallaciousness of all the charges exhibited against him.

The credentials of the Hon. James Shields, elected a Senator by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, having been heretofore presented, were read, on motion of Mr. Crittenden, and the oath prescribed by law was administered, and Mr. Shields took his seat.

Repeal of Fishing Bounties.—The Senate then proceeded to consider the bill repealing all laws or parts of laws allowing bounties to vessels employed in the bank and cod fisheries.

This bill was again very elaborately argued by Messrs. Wilson, Doolittle, Foster, Clay, Bell, and others, when a vote was taken on an amendment offered by Mr. Hamlin, the effect of which was to extend the time from 1859, as was contemplated by the bill, to 1863; which was decided in the negative by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Bell, Broderick, Cameron, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Crittenden, Dixon, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Houston, King, Seward, Shields, Simmons, Stuart, Sumner, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—27.

Nays—Messrs. Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Bright, Brown, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Fitzpatrick, Green, Gwin, Hammond, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson of Arkansas, Johnson of Tennessee, Jones, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Polk, Pugh, Rice, Sebastian, Slidell, Thomson of New Jersey, Toombs, and Yulee—28.

Mr. Hale moved to add a new section, which in effect was to abolish the Naval School at Annapolis and the Military Academy at West Point; which was decided in the negative by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Broderick, Cameron, Chandler, Clark, Durkee, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Houston, Johnson of Tennessee, Trumbull, and Wade—13.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Bright, Brown, Clay, Clingman, Collamer, Crittenden, Davis, Dixon, Doolittle, Fitzpatrick, Foot, Green, Gwin, Hammond, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson of Arkansas, Jones, King, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Polk, Pugh, Rice, Sebastian, Seward, Shields, Simmons, Slidell, Stuart, Thomson of New Jersey, Toombs, Wilson, and Yulee—29.

Mr. Bell moved to postpone the further consideration of the bill until the first Monday in December next; which resulted as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Bell, Broderick, Cameron, Chandler, Clark, Crittenden, Dixon, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Harlen, Houston, King, Seward, Shields, Simmons, Stuart, Sumner, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—26.

Nays—Messrs. Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Bright, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Fitzpatrick, Green, Gwin, Hammond, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson of Arkansas, Johnson of Tennessee, Jones, Mason, Pearce, Polk, Pugh, Rice, Sebastian, Slidell, Thomson of New Jersey, Toombs, and Yulee—26.

The Vice President cast his vote on the negetive side, thus deciding the question.

The Senate adjourned at a late hour, without taking any further question on the bill.

HOUSE.

The day was devoted entirely to Territorial business, and a number of bills relating to the affairs of the Territories were reported and passed. The House adjourned at half past four o'clock.

Thursday, May 13, 1858.

SENATE.

Mr. Hunter moved to postpone prior orders.

A discussion ensued, as to whether the appropriation bill then came up.

The Chair was understood to rule that it came up as a matter of course.

Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee then moved to postpone the further consideration of the bill, for the purpose of taking up the homestead bill; on which motion he demanded the yeas and nays.

On this motion a debate arose, when the question was taken, and it was decided in the negative, by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Bell, Broderick, Chandler, Doolittle, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Hamlin, Harlan, Johnson of Tennessee, Jones, King, Seward, Simmons, Stuart, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—18.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Bright, Cameron, Clark, Clay, Collamer, Crittenden, Davis, Dixon, Fitzpatrick, Foster, Green, Gwin, Hammond, Houston, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson of Arkansas, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Polk, Pugh, Rice, Sebastian, Shields, Slidell, Thomson of New Jersey, Toombs, Wright, and Yulee—35.

The question having been taken on the motion of Mr. Johnson, it was decided in the negative, by the same vote.

Appropriation Bill.—The Senate proceeded to consider the amendments made by the Committee on Finances to the House bill making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of Government for the year ending 30th of June, 1859.

The amendments were agreed to, and the bill was reported to the Senate, and all the amendments concurred in, with the exception of the following:

Sec. 2. Strike out all after the word "That," in the first line, and insert:

"Hereafter, the estimates for the various Executive Departments shall designate not only the amount required to be appropriated for the next fiscal year, but also the amount of the outstanding appropriation, if there be any, which will probably be required to be used for each particular item of expenditure."

Mr. Hale demanded the yeas and nays on concurring, and it was decided in affirmative, by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Broderick, Brown, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Green, Gwin, Houston, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson of Arkansas, Jones, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Polk, Rice, Sebastian, Shields, Stuart, Wright, and Yulee—26.

Nays—Messrs. Chandler, Clark, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Johnson of Tennessee, King, Pugh, Seward, Simmons, Toombs, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—18.

The amendments were then ordered to be engrossed, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

Mr. Doolittle moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed, with a view to insert an amendment to secure to the official reporters of the Senate the same compensation that is given to the reporters of the House.

The motion was discussed very generally until near six o'clock; when the question was taken and the vote was reconsidered, and the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

Mr. Morris, of Pennsylvania, from the committee on the District of Columbia, reported a bill to organize a paid fire department in the District of Columbia; which was read twice and ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The Minnesota Representatives.—Mr. Phillips, of Pennsylvania, presented the credentials of Messrs. W. W. Phelps and James M. Cavanaugh, members elect from the State of Minnesota, (signed by "Samuel Medary, Governor of Minnesota,") and moved that they be sworn in.

Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, asked for the reading of the credentials, and said he objected to the administration of the oath, and desired to state the grounds of his objections.

He said, if these were the only credentials, it was clear these two members were not elected according to the Constitution of Minnesota, which provided for the election of three members, and had no right here. Another objection was, that these certificates were signed by Samuel Medary, who was not Governor of the "State of Minnesota." They could only recognise the election of a member of Congress when it was certified by the Executive officer of the State, and under the seal of the State. The question of who was Governor of Minnesota was contested, and not yet determined. He moved to refer the credentials to the Committee on Elections.

Mr. Millson, of Virginia, proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the certificate and credentials of W. W. Phelps and James M. Cavanaugh, claiming seats as members of this House from the State of Minnesota, be referred to the Committee on Elections, with instructions to inquire into and report upon the right of these gentlemen to be admitted and sworn as members of this House.

Mr. Sherman accepted the resolution as a modification of his motion.

The previous question was seconded, and the main question ordered.

The first question being on amending the motion of Mr. Phillips, by substituting the resolution offered by Mr. Millson,

Mr. Davis, of Maryland, and others, called for the yeas and nays; which were ordered, and resulted as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Abbott, Andrews, Billinghurst, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Buffinton, Burlingame, Case, Chaffee, Clark of Connecticut, Clemens, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Curtis, Davis of Maryland, Davis of Massachusetts, Davis of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Eustis, Farnsworth, Fenton, Foster, Gilman, Gilmer, Gooch, Goodwin, Granger, Grow, Hall of Massachusetts, Harris of Maryland, Haskin, Hill, Hoard, Horton, Howard, Hughes, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Kunkel of Pennsylvania, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, Marshall of Kentucky, Matteson, Maynard, Millson, Morgan, Morrill, Morris of Pennsylvania, Morse of New York, Mott, Nichols, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Pike, Potter, Pottle, Purviance, Ricaud Ritchie, Royce, Sherman of Ohio, Sherman of New York, Spinner, Stanton, Stewart of Pennsylvania, Tappan, Thayer, Tompkins, Underwood, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, Washburne of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Wilson, Wood, and Zollicoffer—91.

Nays—Messrs. Anderson, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Bowie, Branch, Burns, Caruthers, Caskie, Chapman, Clark of Missouri, Clay, Cobb, Cockerill, Craig of Missouri, Crawford, Curry, Davidson, Davis of Indiana, Davis of Mississippi, Dimmick, Dowdell, Edmundson, English, Faulkner, Florence, Foley, Gartrell, Goode, Greenwood, Gregg, Groesbeck, Harris of Illinois, Hatch, Hawkins, Houston, Jackson, Jenkins, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, J. Glancy Jones, Owen Jones, Kelly, Kunkel of Maryland, Lamar, Landy, Lawrence, Letcher, Maclay, McQueen, Marshall of Illinois, Miles, Miller, Moore, Morris of Illinois, Niblack, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Phillips, Powell, Quitman, Reagan, Reilly, Ruffin, Russell, Sandidge, Savage, Scales, Scott, Searing, Shaw of Illinois, Shaw of North Carolina, Shorter, Sickles, Smith of Virginia, Stephens, Stewart of Maryland, Talbot, Taylor of Louisiana, Watkins, Wortendyke, and Wright of Tennessee—84.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. Sherman moved to reconsider the vote just taken, and to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

Mr. Greenwood, of Arkansas, called for the yeas and nays on the motion to lay on the table the motion to reconsider; which were ordered, and resulted—yeas 98, nays 93.

So the motion prevailed.

The question recurring on the adoption of the resolution—

Mr. Florence, of Pennsylvania, called for the yeas and nays; which were ordered.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, inquired if the rejection of the resolution would not be equivalent to the rejection of the application of the members?

The Speaker thought not.

Mr. Hughes moved to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, thought the logical result of the vote to lay on the table would be to decide that the House will not swear in the members.

Mr. Hughes demanded the yeas and nays on his motion to lay on the table; which were ordered, and the motion was lost—yeas 17, nays 172.

The resolution was then agreed to—yeas 108, nays 83.

Charges against the Doorkeeper.—Mr. Kunkel, of Maryland, rose to a question of privilege, and submitted from the Committee on Accounts a report setting forth certain grave charges against Mr. Hackney, the Doorkeeper of the House—that he has employed more persons as messengers and in the document room and folding room than he was authorized to do by the House; that he has falsified his accounts and returns of work done, &c. The committee, believing that Mr. Hackney is either entirely and absolutely incompetent for the duties of his office, or that his wilful and deliberate purpose is to pervert and abuse the power with which he has been invested, recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That R. B. Hackney, Doorkeeper of the present House of Representatives, be and he is hereby dismissed forthwith from his office.

Mr. Kunkel moved that the report be printed and made the special order for Saturday next, at 12 o'clock.

Mr. Nichols, of Ohio, moved that the Doorkeeper have leave to file with the Clerk any statement in reply to the charges which he desired to submit; which was agreed to.

After some discussion, the whole subject was postponed until 12 o'clock on Monday next.

Ohio Contested Election.—Mr. Harris, of Illinois, from the Committee on Elections, to which was referred the memorial of Clement L. Vallandigham, contesting the seat of Lewis D. Campbell, as Representative from the third district of Ohio, reported in effect that a majority of the committee have not been able to agree, four members being in favor of the claim of the contestant, four in favor of the right of the sitting member, and one in favor of declaring the seat vacant, and ordering a new election. Under these circumstances, the committee ask that the views of the several minorities be received by the House.

Mr. Harris moved that the several minority reports be received and printed.

Territorial Business.—The House then proceeded, as the special order, to the consideration of matters pertaining to the Territories, and at five o'clock adjourned.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1858.

☞ "I believe I am the only subscriber in my town, and I want company in the enjoyment which the *Era* is sure to bring to those who read it. I believe that with the single copy I have taken, I have converted many to Republicanism."

So writes a subscriber, sending us a small addition to our list. Who will do likewise? We must confess it is rather a dull time with us just now. Our agents are suffering subscriptions to run out without renewing them. A little attention to the circulation of the *Era* is greatly needed. It is a hard matter to stand the competition with the One Dollar and with the Sensation Weeklies.

☞ In our columns will be found an appeal put forth by the National Republican Association of this city, for funds to enable them to make a free distribution of documents in Congressional districts now represented by Administration or Pro-Slavery Democrats. We hope the appeal will meet with a prompt and liberal response from the friends of the Republican cause.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION.

This Association, which has its headquarters in this city, had a full and spirited meeting at their rooms on Saturday night last.

Senator Seward, of New York, being present, was invited to address the Association; which he did in an able and telling speech of about an hour's length.

He began by alluding to the fact that he was born in a slave State, and was the son of a slaveholder; but that during his boyhood the people of his native State began to perceive that Slavery was against the rights of man, the interests of society, and contrary to the laws of God; and they took steps to free themselves from its unholy and blighting effects. Almost immediately the State of New York rose from the fourth or fifth rank, to the first, foremost, and noblest—the *Empire State* of this Union.

The able Senator then took a rapid view of the condition of society from our first knowledge of its organization, which showed that Slavery had always existed, and in almost every nation of the earth, until within a period of a few hundred years. Finally, a new order of civilization began to dawn upon the world. Labor and the laborer began to be respected, as mankind began to feel their dependence upon them for defence, for support, and for the conveniences and luxuries of life. Then free cities were established, and portions of the laboring class became free and independent citizens.

Allusion was then made to the early Portuguese and Spanish discoveries and dominions, when they were so vast that the Pope of Rome divided the world between them. But these nations had no laborers. Chivalry was all they could boast. In order to plant colonies in their vast possessions, they must have laborers. Then it was that Portugal began the slave trade upon the coast of Africa, and Spain endeavored to enslave the native tribes of America. This was not the civilization to establish or perpetuate nations, and these Powers began to crumble away, until now they occupy little more than their original limits.

A glowing tribute was then paid to the laborer. Governor Seward dared to offend the merchant, or the doctor of divinity, but the laboring man he *dared not* to offend. The address was closed by congratulating the Association upon its success thus far, and its future promise of good. The Association finds cause for self-gratulation in the fact, that, under its auspices, Gov. Seward made this his first political speech in Washington.

The Association adopted the following as their platform of principles:

Platform of the National Republican Association.
Adopted May 15, 1858.

For the purpose of co-operating with all who oppose the extension of Slavery and the domination of the Slave Power, and who seek to extend and perpetuate the blessings of Liberty, we have associated ourselves together, under the title of the National Republican Association, and adopt as the general basis of our action the following principles:

1. The Federal Government has no power over the system of Slavery within the States; but within its own exclusive jurisdiction it has the power, and ought to exert it, to secure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to all men.
2. There should be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, in any of the Territories of the United States.
3. The people are the rightful source of all political power; and all officers should, as far as practicable, be chosen by a direct vote of the People.
4. Candidates for political offices should be men of undoubted integrity and sobriety, and pledged to support the principles of this Platform by all lawful and constitutional means.

THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD.

We call the attention of our readers to the new schedule for Summer Travel on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, printed in our advertising columns. It will be seen that the amplest facilities are secured to travellers from all sections. By new combinations, the Company is enabled to run three through trains, daily, East and West, and the greatest attention is paid to making the connections, and providing for the comfort of the passengers. Two of the trains, each way, will pass over the mountains in the daytime, so as to afford an opportunity to enjoy some of the grandest scenery in the world. The Baltimore *American* says:

> "It is also contemplated, we are told, in fair weather, to make a brief stoppage of the trains at the grandest of the Cheat river viaducts, where a scene is presented that may be called the climax of the road.
>
> "With the present almost entirely finished condition of the several tunnels—now as endurably arched as human skill can render them—with its new and improved hotels and dining-halls, with its system of thorough conductors and its mode of supplying travellers needed information, and of affording other rare courtesies to its patrons, with the watchfulness and care of its train-men and other employees, its complete and exclusive telegraphic lines, with its new and powerful passenger train locomotives, which, by their exclusive use of coke as a fuel, insure to travellers a freedom from smoke and sparks—with these, we say, added to the grander attractions, which are becoming so widely known and appreciated, the passenger business of the Baltimore and Ohio Company ought to become much more enlarged during the coming season. Certainly no more attractive and interesting line of travel can be offered in our country than that which this road presents."

The Company has also been at pains to furnish new conveniences of travel on the Washington Branch. The principal train will leave Baltimore for Washington at 6.45, instead of 8 o'clock. "While this is a pleasant hour for travellers from Baltimore in the summer season, this train, by reaching Washington at 8.30, will accommodate the numerous Government officials and others, who propose to reside along the line during the season. This train will also reach Washington in time to connect with the steamers for Mount Vernon, and it is contemplated to establish through round trip tickets between Baltimore and Mount Vernon, by which visiters may view that sacred place and return home upon the same evening."

An examination of the schedule will show other arrangements, demanded by the wants of the Public. The Company deserves great credit for its intelligent enterprise.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ITS ACCUSERS.

A political party is not a church or a philanthropic association. It is not organized for the purpose of establishing theological opinions and disseminating piety, or of sending bibles and missionaries to the Heathen.

A civil government that should attempt to repress sin and spread holiness, by pains and penalties, by fine, imprisonment, and the halter, or which should take money from the pockets of the People to dispense for eleemosynary objects, would be guilty of an invasion of the rights of God and man. It is bound to protect absolute freedom of inquiry into all subjects, but it may not propagate religious ideas. It may not undertake to disseminate piety, although it is bound to secure to every man the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. It may not punish sin, merely because it is sin, for that is the prerogative of the Almighty; but it is bound to punish crime. It may control the acts, but it cannot reach the heart. It may constrain respect for the rights of man; it cannot awaken love to God. Its true object is, to protect every individual within its jurisdiction in the enjoyment of life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness, thus securing peace, order, and progress; and the Principle which should govern its action is, Equality of Rights, which is only another name for Justice.

The sphere of civil government defines the sphere of politics. A Party has no right to propose for action what Government is restrained from doing. The limitation of one must be the limitation of the other.

It is nonsense to say that, under this definition, a Political Party must necessarily be selfish. If by this be meant, that it is not a benevolent association, is not organized for the sole purpose of doing good to others, then it is selfish—but we submit that this is an abuse of language. By selfishness, we always mean that Principle or Feeling which leads a man to sacrifice the rights and interests of others, when they conflict with his own interest or pleasure. To seek his own improvement, comfort, welfare, is not *selfish*, if at the same time he shall respect and seek the interests of his neighbor—in other words, love his neighbor as himself. As with the individual, so with the Party. If it give evidence, by its acts, that it seeks power for the sake of the benefits it brings to itself, at the cost of the interests of others, or even without reference to them, it is selfish, and ought to be repudiated by the People. But if, while aiming at power, while proposing to discharge the functions of government according to its ideas of policy, it at the same time respects the rights of all within the sphere of its action, and is at pains to do justice to them all, it deserves the confidence of the People; and he who denounces it as selfish, because it is not a philanthropical association, governed solely by considerations for the interests of others, is guilty of an absurdity and an injustice. If its controlling Idea be, Justice to all within the sphere of its action, the Protection and Advancement of all legitimate Interests within the jurisdiction of the Government whose power it would direct, it is all that philanthropist or divine can ask of it.

We should not have thought it necessary to present these elementary views, but for a sweeping invective against the Republican Party lately published in the New York *Independent* by the Rev. George B. Cheever. We are not a partisan, and cannot be said to belong properly to any Party; but we deeply regret that a man of the position of Dr. Cheever should see proper to denounce so unqualifiedly the only imposing Political organization in the country, pledged by its professions and its *acts* to the Principle of Equal Rights.

If it be true that no Political Party deserves support, which does not undertake to define what is sin against God, and pledge itself to its extermination wherever found, Dr. Cheever's denunciation of the Republicans is all right—for certainly that is not their position. The individuals composing the Republican Party may agree with Dr. Cheever, or they may not. Some of them are religious men, and, in the several church organizations to which they belong, are prepared to unite with him in appropriate action on the subject of Slavery—but they are not prepared to convert their Party into an ecclesiastical body. Some of them are Philanthropists, and are ready to do all that can be done by Christian instrumentalities for the redemption of the enslaved everywhere—but they are not willing to convert their Party into a philanthropic association. All regard Slavery, whoever may be its victims, as a violation of the rights of human nature, a barbarous and cruel system, repugnant to Democratic Ideas, a formidable obstacle to Human Progress, and do not hesitate to say so—but as a Party they claim no right to interfere with it, where the Government which they seek to control has no right of interference. And yet, because the *Party* will not do this, will not usurp ecclesiastical functions, will not act as a benevolent association, will not proclaim Slavery "a sin," "worthy of death," and, of course, pledge itself to overthrow this "sin," punish the sinner, and rescue the four millions sinned against, it falls under the maledictions of Dr. Cheever. It is guilty of "unmingled and absorbing selfishness;" it is engaged "no longer in a conflict against enslaving others," but only in "self-defence;" "the deliberate renunciation of all obligations of justice or mercy to the enslaved, the forgetfulness and disregard of principle toward God and benevolence toward man, and the degradation of the warfare to a mere strife of political superiority between the slave States and the free, or between slave labor and free, are indications ominous of evil!!"

> "The thing against which a majority in the House of Representatives have been stiffened and propped up to a transitory display of steadfastness, was not the monstrous iniquity of forcing the Slavery of black persons upon a State, but that of forcing a *Constitution* upon the State, *without consent of the white people.* The inhumanity and immorality of *Slavery* itself, and injustice and wickedness of enslaving *the blacks*, would not have provoked a conflict. On the naked principle of opposition against Slavery, or against enslaving the blacks, a majority could not have been rallied."

He proceeds, turning over and over this same Idea, putting it in different forms, each form darker and more damning than the preceding one, all the resources of an *ad captandum* rhetoric being taxed to crush the Party under the overwhelming odium of mean, sneaking selfishness. See how he rolls the accusation, as a precious morsel, under his tongue.

Not the vital and most detestable iniquity in this complicated and accumulated series of wrongs, "has prompted and steadied this opposition," but "merely the manner of enforcing it." "Not at all the making Slaves of human beings without their own consent, but the doing of it without the consent of the People," "has excited all this indignation, wrath, and opposition, both of the Senate and House of Representatives."

> "The central iniquity in this scheme, at which the old prophets would have called upon the heavens to be astonished, and the earth to be afraid with horrible amazement, is the deliberate establishment of Slavery, in the most heaven-defying and infamous terms. The right of property in human beings is distinctly affirmed in the Constitution proposed to be enforced, as before and higher than any constitutional sanction. The right of property *in* man is in fact assumed as one of the rights *of* man; and it is declared that 'the right of any owner of a slave to such a slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of any owner of any property whatsoever.' Had the terms of this proposition been purposely studied to obtain as insulting and daring a mode of affirming the perpetual and inviolable right of Slavery as language could contrive, obviously, no more definite and compact sign could be hit upon, than the use of the impersonal pronoun ITS, in reference to the human chattel, THE SLAVE AND ITS INCREASE."

And then he goes on again, with his rhetoric, assuming that not this excited the abhorence of the Opposition, but only the refusal to give the People an opportunity to say whether the damning iniquity should be sanctified. To heighten the effect, he adds:

> "Senator Crittenden's amendment makes all right, *by submitting it to the people whether they will choose to enslave others;* the perfect *right* to enslave, *if the people choose,* not being questioned or controverted! Nay, by such a submission, as being the rectification and cure of the whole mischief, it is admitted that the right to enslave is an elementary, native, intrinsic right of popular sovereignty, one of the rights of man, rightfully to be enshrined in the people's bill of rights, and in the State Constitution."

The remaining column of the article is in precisely the same strain of bitter invective, all turning upon the assumption that the Republicans have renounced hostility to Slavery, and opposition to the extension of Slavery; have become purely selfish in their aims; contend now only for superiority of political power; were not shocked or indignant at the complicated villainy that sought to fasten Slavery on Kansas, because they were opposed to enslaving others, but because the will of the whole People in Kansas was not consulted—that in voting for the Crittenden amendment, they admitted that the right to enslave is one of the rights of man—"the only privilege defended, the only right insisted on, is the privilege and right of Popular Sovereignty by itself, to determine the establishment and perpetuity of crime."

Can it be that preachers, like editors, sometimes write for mere effect? that, in the glow of composition, they at times lose sight of the metes and bounds of truth? that occasionally a passion for antithesis or epigram, or a fondness for brilliant turns of expression, makes them forget to ask the question, is this just?

Be this as it may, Dr. Cheever's article is more distinguished by its heat, its wrath, its antithesis, its brilliancy of invective, than by its truth or justice. From beginning to end, he misrepresents the Republican Party—its doctrines, its motives, its policy, its particular acts—misrepresents too the political movement with which they are identified.

We said that, if the controlling idea of a Party be, justice to all within the sphere of its action, the protection and advancement of all legitimate interests within the jurisdiction of the Government whose powers it wields or seeks to direct, it is all that philanthropist or divine could ask. Neither would be justified in denouncing it as selfish, or disloyal to the interests of humanity. We say that this is the position of the Republican Party. Measuring its responsibilities by the powers of the Government it aims to control, its purpose is to protect all rights, and promote all legitimate interests within the jurisdiction of that Government. Would you have it do more? Shall it *usurp* power, under the pretence that a certain great evil cannot otherwise be reached? Shall it be condemned as giving aid and countenance to a wrong, because, having no power of redress, it will not usurp it? Will you arraign it as an apostate, for "renouncing obligations" which it has never recognised, and which have never rested upon it?

In common with a large majority of the citizens of free States, it regards Slavery as a moral, political, economical, and social evil—a wrong and woe to the Slaves—a curse to the community that tolerates it—repugnant to Christianity and modern Civilization. It sees this evil within the States of the Union protected by State sovereignty; it finds no authority conferred upon the Federal Government to interfere with it; therefore, it does not propose the abolition of State Slavery by the action of the Federal Government, for it has no right to do evil that good may come—no right to usurp power, however laudable may be the end in view—no right to break down the sovereignty of the States for the purpose of reforming their institutions.

But what it can, it will. Finding, as it believes, authority in the Constitution to prohibit Slavery outside of the States, to prevent the enslavement of human beings within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government, to prevent the extension of Slavery into United States Territories, and to foster institutions in them, founded upon the principle that man ought not to hold man as property, they have boldly asserted the existence of this authority, and their determination to act under it, so as to establish Justice and extend the blessings of Liberty. This is their position, known and read of all men. They proclaimed it in their platform adopted at Philadelphia in 1856, and throughout the Presidential canvass of that year. There was not a Republican elected to the last Congress, not one elected to the present Congress, known to hold an opposite view. The one purpose which has given coherence, unity, and power, to their organization, has been, the resolve to defeat the attempt to extend Slavery, and to perpetuate the principle of Slavery in our Federal Administration; the resolve to establish Liberty in the Territories of the Union, and subject the Federal Administration to the principle of Liberty. They have been true to this, from the hour of their first triumph—the election of Mr. Banks, as Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Kansas Question was the *immediate* and *formal* issue; but what interest would it have awakened, had it not been for its intimate association with the great conflict of Principles? Nay, there would have been, but for this, no Kansas Question. Was it the mere tax on tea that caused the American Revolution, that constituted the Question between Great Britain and the Colonies? That measure was but an incident, an occasion—the insignificant application of a Principle broad enough to form the basis of a Revolution.

Where has Dr. Cheever been during the debates in Congress of the last four years? It is too much to expect of a clergyman that he shall read all the speeches made in Congress. It were as unreasonable as to expect politicians to read all the sermons with which the press teems. But both classes should read enough to be enabled to speak intelligently of the position of each other. Will Dr. Cheever tell us why a great party has been rapidly organized, to prevent the extension of Slavery into the Territories of the Union, if it did not hold that Slavery was a great evil? Why a party, now probably strong enough to take possession of the Government, is held together by the single tie of Opposition to the extension of Slavery, if it did not believe it the paramount evil? Has a single member of Congress been blind to the fact that in this Congress, as in the last, the one momentous Question underlying all the Kansas debate, was this Question of Slavery? What statesman, North or South, has for a moment lost sight of this fact? Never was the subject so thoroughly discussed at any former period of our history; and nowhere else has the whole argument for Liberty been more fully, eloquently, and cogently presented than by the Republican members of Congress. Under every aspect, moral, political, social, economical—as a question of political power, of constitutional law, of ethics—in its relations to masters and slaves, States and Territories, North and South, the United States and the civilized world—the Question has been treated with ability and boldness. True, it has not been dealt with in the language of the pulpit or presbytery. Politicians are not preachers, statesmen are not ecclesiastical doctors; and yet they may love Justice and labor for Humanity just as well; may be as sincere advocates of the Rights of Man, as if they should substitute for the language of the People the set phrases of the Clergy.

As to the special treatment of this Kansas Question, they have aimed, first, to keep Slavery out of the Territory, secondly, to protect the People against oppression. It is not true that they have lost sight of the first object, in their attention to the second. Both were and are inseparable. To prevent the oppression of the white man in Kansas, is to prevent the enslavement of the black man; for it was found impossible to establish Slavery in the Territory, without subverting the rights of the white man. Now, are we to overlook the fraud and violence towards the white people of Kansas, lest we be suspected of indifference on the question of Slavery, and this, too, when these very wrongs to the white man have been committed for the sake of extending Negro Slavery?

Despotism is hateful, whoever may be the victims. Villanies and frauds, like those perpetrated in Kansas, will excite indignation—will be and ought to be exposed and dwelt upon, until retribution overtake the evil-doers. The right of self-government, stricken down in Kansas by an unscrupulous Administration, ought to be restored and upheld. Is it a crime in the Republican Party to take this ground? Because it has labored to do justice to the white People of Kansas, must it be charged with unmitigated selfishness, and denounced as having ceased to labor to prevent the establishment of the Slavery of the black man?

Dr. Cheever cannot produce a resolve from any Republican Convention, a sentence from the speech of any Republican Congressman, a single act of the Republican Party, to justify his inconsiderate invective.

In a House where it had simply a plurality, not a majority, it succeeded in electing a Speaker, representing distinctly the Policy of Freedom to Kansas, and Freedom to all the Territories. It voted repeatedly to bring Kansas into the Union as a free State; against all attempts to authorize the formation of a State Constitution under such circumstances as would hazard the fate of Liberty; and it secured a Commission for investigating and bringing to light the atrocities which had been committed in the attempt to plant Slavery in the new Territory. By its efforts, throughout the country and in Kansas, it has succeeded, so far, in defeating the scheme of Slavery-propagandists, and practically preventing the extension of Slavery.

Can it be that the key to this clerical invective is to be found in the vote of the Republicans for the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment? Ah! says the orator—it was not Slavery—it was not the attempt to plant the system in Kansas—it was not the assertion of the right of property in man—it was not the attempt to perpetuate the monstrous crime for all time, that provoked your wrath, aroused and steadied your opposition; it was simply because all this villainy was attempted in disregard of the rights of the People of Kansas. If they would sanction it, well and good—it would all be right. So, you voted for the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment, for the purpose of allowing them to sanction or reject the villany, just as they might please. "You admitted that the right to enslave is an elementary, native, intrinsic right of popular sovereignty." That was all!

Unpardonable misrepresentation! In no instance have the Republicans relaxed their opposition to Slavery in Kansas. Their unintermitted struggle has been to prevent its establishment. They fought the bill to admit Kansas under the slave Constitution of Lecompton, because it recognised Slavery, because it recognised it in a most revolting style, because it was a spurious Constitution, and because it was against the will and in disregard of the rights of the large majority of its People. It was not only the *manner of forming and adopting* the Constitution, as Dr. Cheever assumes, but the abominable thing itself, that provoked their wrath and steadied their opposition. To a man, they spoke and voted against it in the Senate; to a man, they voted against it in the House, their whole vote, 92, being recorded for its rejection. Failing in this, knowing absolutely that, on a direct vote, the bill would pass the House, they saw one mode, and only one, of defeating it—the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment, which proposed to admit Kansas into the Union, with the Lecompton Constitution, provided the People, on a fair vote, should adopt it, or should they reject, to enable them to form another Constitution. There were twenty-eight members of the House, not Republicans, some of whom had no objection to the introduction of Slavery into Kansas, provided the People were in favor of it, but who believed that the Constitution was the offspring of fraud, was not their voice, and ought to be submitted to them: and some of whom, while hostile to Slavery, still maintain that the right of a People forming a State Constitution to adopt or reject it, ought not to be questioned: these, too, holding that the instrument was one of fraud, and had been adopted in disregard of the will of the People, demanded its submission to a fair vote. The Republicans, not agreeing with either class, in respect to the power of Congress over Slavery, not admitting that it was right for any Territory to establish the system, whether in a Territorial condition, or when forming a State Constitution, still agreed with them that the Constitution was a fraud, and was adverse to the will of the great majority of the People of Kansas.

What was to be done? Co-operating with these classes, they could defeat the bill, and prevent the Lecompton Constitution and Slavery from being fastened on Kansas. To refuse to co-operate, was to allow the bill to pass, and Kansas to be a Slave State under a Constitution which recognises in most odious terms the right of property in human beings. The Public knew their position and purposes—their record was too plain to be misunderstood. Could they co-operate without sacrificing their policy, their great aim—the exclusion of Slavery from Kansas? If they voted for the amendment, the bill as amended would go back to the Senate, and they knew that it would not pass there. But, should it pass, the People of Kansas were to be trusted. We all knew that the opponents of Lecompton and Slavery were in the absolute ascendant there, and would do what the Republican members of Congress could not, vote them both down. Well might they trust Popular Sovereignty, when it was notorious that four-fifths of the Popular Sovereigns were Republican or Free State voters! In either contingency, then, their great Cause was safe.

They voted for the amendment—the amendment did kill the bill—and the upshot of the matter is, that at last the Administration Party itself is driven to give to the People of Kansas an opportunity to vote down the miserable Constitution, and vote themselves a free State, although the form of submission is such that it only brings disgrace upon that Party.

The Freedom-loving People of the country ere this have pronounced their judgment upon this act of Republicans—"well done, good and faithful servants!" In a minority in both Houses, their persevering energy and practical sagacity have been more than a match for the Slavery Propaganda, and have virtually defeated their attempt, backed up by a servile Administration, to fasten Slavery upon Kansas. This was the *purpose* of their vote on the Crittenden amendment—this is the *effect*: the vote really needs no other vindication.

Had they refused to give it, the bill to admit Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution would have become Law; ere this, United States troops would have been summoned to the field to enforce the infernal iniquity, at the point of the bayonet, on a resisting People, and upon the Republican members of Congress would have rested a part of the blood-guiltiness of the horrible conflict, because, when they had the power to prevent it, they refused to exert it.

Hitherto we have addressed ourselves to the common sense of the People; but we have a word or two for the few who permit themselves to be perplexed by metaphysical subtilties. Surely, they say, the Republicans, in voting to submit to the judgment of the People of Kansas the Slave Constitution of Lecompton, admitted their right to ratify it, or, in the language of Dr. Cheever, "that the right to enslave is an elementary, native, intrinsic right of Popular Sovereignty."

Surely, they did no such thing. *Power* and *Right* are not convertible terms. For reasons satisfactory to myself, I may invest my son, before he is of age, with the *power* to act for himself—to decide upon his own course of life—but it does not follow that I invest him with a *right*, or admit any *right* in him, to act dishonorably, or adopt an immoral course of life. God has made man a free agent—given him the *power* to choose or reject good or evil, but he has not given him the *right* to reject the good and choose the evil. Colonel Benton held, and other eminent statesmen have held, that the Constitution of the United States does not extend to the Territories of the Union—that the Federal Government has supreme *power* over them, there being no constitutional restraint upon this power. Admit for a moment that the view is correct, would it follow that the Federal Government has the *right* to do *injustice, to practice oppression, to establish Slavery,* in the Territories? It would have the *power*, not the *right*. In voting for the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment, the Republicans voted to give the People of Kansas the *power* to choose or refuse evil, but they did not admit their *right* to choose evil. They could not impart what they did not possess—could not admit what they had utterly repudiated as an impossibility. You did not object to investing Minnesota with a State organization—but the People of Minnesota may now call a Convention, and amend their Constitution so as to tolerate Slavery and exclude free colored persons. They have the power, as a State, to do so; you have aided in conferring it upon them; they abuse it; are you responsible? Did you give them the *right* to abuse it? Did you *admit* that they would have such a *right?* "Oh—but you say, we had no reason to believe that they would act in that way, every reason to believe that they would not." Very good. So had the Republican members of Congress every reason to believe that the People of Kansas would do right and reject Slavery, and no reason to believe that they would do otherwise. Having no power to save that People from the curse of Slavery, but being able to secure to them the power to save themselves, and having every reason to believe that, if conferred, it would be used for that purpose, and knowing that, if they did not confer it, Slavery would be fastened upon them, they voted them the power; but they never voted them the right to do wrong, or admitted such a right—for they are neither fools nor Atheists.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

In the Senate, Mr. Douglas called up the Oregon bill, and it was discussed, Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, leading off in the debate.

The House proceeded at once, after the reading of the journal, to the election of a Doorkeeper. Mr. Joseph C. Wright, the Democratic candidate, received 117 votes; Mr. Fletcher, the Republican candidate, 77; Mr. Chase, American, 10; Walker, American, 9. There were three scattering votes. Every Douglas Democrat, except Mr. Harris, voted for the regular Democratic candidate. Mr. Wright had a majority of *eight* over all his competitors, and was duly sworn into office.

A bill to prevent frauds in land titles in California was then passed.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole upon the appropriation bills.

☞ A speech, by Lewis Tappan, of New York, concerning the Tract Society, has been forwarded to us for publication. It will be inserted in our next.

WASHINGTON ITEMS.

The Turkish Vice Admiral has declined the offer of a passage home on the Wabash.

Twelve hundred thousand of land warrants were issued last month under the bounty act of 1855. Twenty-eight million acres of land will be necessary to satisfy these warrants.

The Willett's Point investigating committee are drawing their labors to a close. The owner of the property, it appears, gave the Government the refusal of it up to a certain time (April, 1857) for $130,000; but as the appropriation for the purchase was not available until the 1st of July, the owner in the mean time sold it to Mr. Irwin, who subsequently disposed of it to the Government for $200,000, the engineer department having reported it as the most available site for fortifications. Nothing has been elicited to show that the Secretary of War was concerned in any collusion or complicity in the purchase.

The President has removed his United States District Attorney for Kansas, Mr. Wier, and appointed in his stead Mr. Allison Davis. Mr. Wier is a Free-State Democrat. Mr. Davis is a Slave-State Lecompton Democrat. This act, consummated, as it is, after the passage of the English bill, shows the intention of Mr. Buchanan. He will not give the people of Kansas a fair election, if he can help it. This act, we trust, will seal the fate of the Buchanan party in every free State.

CALIFORNIA.—We are glad to see, by our California papers, that the slave Archy Lee was set free in the Circuit Court at San Francisco. It was a just decision.

We are sorry to notice that a bill has been presented to the California Legislature, prohibiting further immigration of negroes to that State, and requiring those at present in California to take out licenses. The colored people are very much excited, and talk of emigrating in a body to British territory.

The *Courrier des Etats Unis* is of opinion that the Paraguay resolution is meant for a precedent, to be followed by similar action in respect to Cuba.

The Review.

History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption, of the Constitution of the United States; with Notices of its Principal Framers. By George Ticknor Curtis. In Two Volumes. Volume II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

The *first* volume of this work we have not received, and can therefore only speak of it from that which is now before us. This is a most valuable one for the condensed information it contains, and the subject ought to give it a wide circulation. Kent and Story have furnished their Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, Webster and many others of our statesmen, Marshall, and high-minded upright Judges like him, have expounded its principles and applied them to emergent cases. Such a history of its origin, development, and adoption, however, is what every citizen should become acquainted with. It is a faithful record of events, and evidently has cost its author much research. He sets down facts not as a partisan, indulges in no mere reflections of his own, but, as his aim requires, draws from the best original sources his statements of facts illustrative alike of the feelings and acts of those who were engaged with more or less of influence in bringing about the results.

The author's plan, in the present volume, as given by himself, is thus clearly defined: "I shall consider questions of construction only so far as may be necessary to elucidate my subject; for I propose, in writing the history of the formation of the Constitution, to describe rather those great modifications in the principles and structure of the union that took place in the period at which we have now arrived in the course of this work, to state the essential features of the new Government, and to trace the process by which they were evolved from the elements to which the framers of that Government resorted." This plan he keeps closely in view, and the eminent ability with which he executes it, every one who reads the book must admit.

Sixteen chapters, embracing nearly 500 pages, are devoted to the formation of the Constitution, presenting a view of the preparation and plans and objects and reports of committees, and discussions in the Convention—thus condensing a great amount of detailed information in a moderate compass, and accessible to the people at large.

The last hundred pages record the struggles in different States for its ratification, showing that it was indeed a hard-fought battle, on almost every field where the victory was finally won. In the course of this history, too much light is thrown on the causes of the difficulties which opposed the Union of the States, and the means by which they were removed.

Mr. Curtis has performed a service for which the country owes him thanks, by enabling all better to understand the views of the great men by whom the Constitution was formed and set in operation. Especially desirable is such knowledge now, when the great principles on which it is based are wrested to the purposes of despotic authority, and the liberties of the people are subverted under the guise of adherence to its intent, and the end and aim of those honored men is frustrated by a power, of whose strength they could not have dreamed, and which they would have resisted to the death. The Constitution itself, with the amendments to it, is given in full in an appendix, and the volume is likewise furnished with a copious index to the whole work.

A Compendium of American Literature, Chronologically Arranged with Biographical Sketches of the Authors, on the Plan of the Author's "Compendium of English Literature" and "English Literature of the Nineteenth Century." By Charles D. Cleveland. Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle. 1858.

The author, in his preface, says: "Every one will look at the subject from a different standpoint; and I will sincerely thank each and all to place me in their position, that I may as far as possible see with their eyes." We fear that the experiment suggested would result too much like that in the old fable of the man who tried to please everybody, and pleased nobody, and so wisely concluded at last to please himself. There is probably no one who takes up this volume but must feel that some authors are left out and others are put in, some passages are selected and others passed over, in the case of those who occupy a place in this list, that, had he had the making of it, would have been different. We could mention such names and references. A national literature, in our view, is that which *permanently* represents the mind and character of a nation. This is what we mean by Grecian and Roman literature. The number of authors in a list described in a *history* of a national literature will of course be great. That of Germany, for instance, volumes could not contain it. And yet there could scarcely be any doubt as to the great names whose writings will go down to posterity with an enduring fame.

It is on such a basis as we believe a volume like this should be constructed, and, adopting this as the true standard, while we recognise its application in many cases, we think Mr. Cleveland has sometimes certainly lost sight of it. Adventitious circumstances thus have, in certain instances, given a place to individuals who, as thus brought into this company, might be much as the politicians which Burke speaks of in Lord Chatham's administration—wondering how or why they have been so associated. Still, the volume is an interesting collection of extracts, and contains many rich *morceaux* of the productions of minds and genius that will ever be blended with the fame of our country in its most enduring title to respect and honor in after ages. There are about 110 authors, of whom biographical sketches and extracts are furnished, embracing names in the varied classes and professions of both sexes. Generally, the chronological arrangement is adopted, though we think not strictly adhered to. Mr. Cleveland's book deserves well of the friends of an outspoken testimony for human rights.

The Happy Home. By Kirwan, author of "Letters to Bishop Hughes," "Romanism at Home," "Men and Things in Europe," &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

Few of our readers probably need to be told who Kirwan is. Dr. Nicholas Murray is too well known by the publications which have been so widely circulated under his assumed name to require vouchers of his capacity to instruct the public on such topics as he may select for the exercise of his pen. There is much good sense in this little volume. It treats especially of education, and the author considers it under the branches of physical, moral, mental, and religious training, both of sons and daughters. Many of his remarks are highly suggestive. All are given in a plain, clear style, making no pretension to fine writing, but not unfrequently interspersed with passages of eloquent description, and abounding with illustrations drawn alike from his own observation and from a mind richly stored with the fruits of a diligent use of books. Great principles are laid down, and their bearing exhibited on the family and society at large.

The New York Pulpit in the Revival of 1858. A Memorial Volume of Sermons. New York: Published by Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Sold by William Ballantyne, Washington. 1 vol., pp. 395.

These discourses were not composed for publication, but are selected from sermons delivered during the present revival. They are all admirable, and this volume richly merits wide popularity. The eminent talent of New York and Brooklyn is here exhibited. Among these twenty-five sermons, we have those of Dr. Alexander, Dr. Bethune, Dr. William Adams, and one from Dr. William R. Williams, who who is a distinguished representative of the ministerial talent of our country. It is only to be reregtted the Christian public see so little from his beautiful pen. This sermon alone is worth the cost of the book.

The Christian Examiner for May.

This admirable periodical is always welcome. This number contains six articles, each of which is full of talent, learning, and interest. The "Ideal Girlhood of Modern Romance" is a charming essay. "The Oriental Question" is penned by one well posted with the great questions of European politics.

Harper's New Monthly, for June, 1858.

Harper again. So early, too. Is it a good number? What does he give us now? Very natural inquiries. Let us see. First, "The City of Elms," New Haven, with a variety of illustrations and records—some old, some new, some humorous, and some more grave, of its origin, progress, and present state; then, "Tropical Journeyings—California," full, too, of pictures—Portobello, Aspinwall, Panama, negroes, bucaneers, scorpions, centipedes, bats, vampire, and a dash at the other inhabitants, tree growth, and historical, biographical, and descriptive notices; then, "The Microscope," a shorter article, with its illustrations of a number of subjects; "Dear Hunting;" "Old and New Style;" "Our Sons;" "Esther Bennett's Love and Hate;" "A Night Scene," poetry *indeed*, by William Cullen Bryant; "A Nest of Cavaliers;" "An Incident at Niagara Falls;" "In Articulo Mortis;" "A Mother's Confession;" Another portion, four chapters, of Thackeray's "The Virginians," in which he introduces Lord Chesterfield, Dr. Johnson, Samuel Richardson, and Henry Fielding, and others, the wits and authors of that day; "Monthly Record;" "Literary Notices;" "Editor's Table; Easy Chair, Drawer;" the Comic Illustrations, viz: "Mr. Flasher's Love at First sight;" "Fashions for June," &c.

NEW BOOKS.

The *Atlantic Monthly* has a circulation already of 30,000 copies per month. This is doing pretty well, when we consider that it is in its politics strongly anti-Slavery.

Beecher's "Life Thoughts," when out but twenty days, had sold 15,000 copies—a very fine sale.

Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., of New York, the publishers of Spurgeon's sermons, have already sold 150,000 volumes of the series.

Mr. Dayton, publisher of "Fifty Years in Chains," an Anti-Slavery story, has sold five thousand copies in a short time.

It is very evident, from these and a multiplicity of similar facts, that the book trade is reviving, after its long and heavy depression.

OREGON.—The Republicans held a State Convention at Salem, in Oregon, on the second of April, and nominated—

For Governor, John Denny.

For Representative in Congress, J. R. McBride.

For Secretary of State, Leander Holmes.

For State Printer, D. W. Craig.

For State Treasurer, E. E. Applegate.

The Democrats are in the midst of a severe fight, and two sets of nominations have been made. It is thought, however, that they will, after a time, unite again, as they are not divided by a principle. It is possible that one wing may hereafter unite with the Republicans, and deliver the State from the government of the Sham Democracy, in case Oregon comes into the Union.

THE NORTH AND SOUTH.—We have received the first number of a neat-looking weekly sheet with this title. It hails from New Britain, Connecticut, and is owned and edited by the well-known Elihu Burritt. New Britain is his residence and native place. This new journal will be the advocate of Mr. Burritt's scheme of compensating the slaveholders of the South for their slave property, and thus ridding the country of the peculiar institution. Mr. Burritt will aim to make the paper what his former journal—the *Christian Citizen*—was, and we wish him all success in his new enterprise.

☞ The Tract Society, as our readers will see in our news columns, has voted to sustain its Publishing Committee in refusing to publish one word respecting the duties of masters to their slaves. They *do* publish upon the duties *of slaves to masters*—but that is quite a different matter! The end is not yet. This great institution will not be permitted to ally itself with Wrong. Either the Society will be revolutionized, or the great body of contributors will leave it, and form a new one.

☞ The Anti-Slavery friends of the Tract Society held a preliminary meeting last week, Tuesday, in New York. Mr. Lewis Tappan addressed the meeting in favor of the Society's assuming a radical position in reference to Slavery. He wanted the Society in its tracts to oppose Slavery *as a sin*, instead of regulating the conduct of slaveholders, as if the relation were proper. Rev. Dr. Cheever upheld this view of the matter, but Dr. Thompson of the *Independent*, Rev. Mr. Patton of Chicago, Dr. Hawes, and others, contended that to take this ground now would weaken the position of the Anti-Slavery friends of the Society. So it was agreed that the conduct of the Publishing Committee should be condemned, and the action of the Society a year ago sustained—action which instructed the Committee to publish tracts showing the duties of masters to their slaves, nothing being said upon the *relation* itself.

☞ The enemies of Col. Forney and his *Press*, despairing of success in opposing his course on Lecompton by legitimate arguments, now try to injure him by charging that Dr. Elder edits the *Press*. If Dr. Elder is one of the corps of writers engaged by the *Press*, he probably writes only what Col. Forney chooses to adopt. Col. Forney owns the *Press*, and publishes only what he likes, as a matter of course. The chief editor of the London *Times* never writes a line, but gathers editorial matter from all parts of the Kingdom for his journal. Let the chagrined opponents of the *Press* answer its arguments, and be not quite so deeply anxious about the authorship of its editorials, and they will excite more admiration than they possibly can in their present attitude.

PARAGUAY.—The *Springfield Republican* states in a few words the causes for the dispute with Paraguay about which the Senate had some discussion:

> "There are three principal causes of complaint against Paraguay. In 1855, our exploring steamer, the Water Witch, commanded by Capt Page, was ascending the Paraguay river, when it was fired into from a fort, by order of President Lopez, and one of her men killed. The further prosecution of the expedition was thus prevented. Afterward, Consul Hopkins—son of Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont—was insulted and finally sent home by Lopez. Several others of our citizens were driven out of the country, their business broken up, and their property destroyed. The Government of Paraguay has also behaved in an unreasonable and insulting manner in reference to a treaty negotiated with our Government. After once acceding to the treaty, she now declines to ratify it, on the pretext that it has been changed by our Government, when the truth is that the only changes have been a few verbal corrections, not at all affecting a single provision of the treaty. The Government of Paraguay is evidently inclined to be ugly and insolent. A little wholesome correction would do her good, and we are the more willing to see it administered, because in her case there is no temptation to seize territory by way of reprisals. Brazil has lately compelled her to settle a quarrel by a show of force, and doubtless the same means will prove effectual in regard to our own Government.
>
> "Paraguay is enclosed between the Parana and Paraguay rivers, and has an area of about 84,000 square miles, and a population of about 300,000, chiefly half-civilized Indians. It is an interior country, nearly a thousand miles distant from the ocean, and, although the Parana is navigable, can never be of great importance commercially."

THE ADMINISTRATION PARTY AT WORK.—The "Keystone Club" of this city, which is composed chiefly of Government employés, has ordered *one million* of documents for distribution in the single State of Pennsylvania.

The Indiana Democratic Club, at a meeting held a week or two since, subscribed *six hundred dollars* for a like purpose in the State of Indiana.

H. W. Herbert, Esq., author, shot himself, in New York, on Monday, at the Stevens House. The cause was family trouble.

THE SUSQUEHANNA.—This United States frigate recently came into New York with yellow fever on board, and from San Juan to that port she lost a great number of men. There seems to have been a cause for the pestilence. One of her seamen publishes a statement in the New York journals, from which we make the following extracts:

> "After our arrival at San Juan, we found that our stock was short; we had no good flour in the ship; that ration was stopped *in toto*, and to make the other hold out, we were put on San Juan fresh meat four times a week. This meat was boiled with a few yams, and my 'gorge even now rises' at the recollection of the disgusting compound. I attribute the escape of so many to the fact, that although hungry, they could not eat it. There is some of the bread we were fed on still on board the ship; it is its own damning evidence. We were anchored in fresh water; the upper deck was scrubbed every day, the lower decks three and four times a week; the ship was always damp. We hauled the seine three and four times a week, the men up to their waists in water, and a tropical sun overhead. Some of them would drink a little too much rum, and were not particular about shifting their wet clothes when they returned on board, and those who got drunk were put in irons, with their wet clothes still remaining on them. The fish, when caught, were piled into large bake-pans, heated in the oven, and devoured nearly raw, there being no other means of cooking them for the *men*. A portion of our crew were employed in building a boat-landing, up to the waist in water, as usual, with 'old Jamaica' frying them above, and on several occasions the men were exercised on 'Point Arenas' until the heat of the musket became so intense that they could not bear it to come in contact with their hands. Our ship was a receptacle for every filthy filibuster who presented himself for admission, and the last one received was crawling out of a fever."

OFFICIAL REPORT.—The official report of the receipts and expenditures for the last quarter has issued from the office of the Register of the Treasury. The revenue from the sale of lands was $480,936. The amount of premium received on Treasury notes was $87,600. The total receipts from the ordinary sources of revenue was $7,900,000 for the quarter; amount obtained by loan, $11,087,000. An exchange says:

> "This certainly is a very sorry exhibit, and it is idle to say that the necessity of a loan can be blinked much longer. The regular appropriations for the current year are $75,000,000, of which it is estimated that nearly $20,000,000 will be suppressed by the arbitrary action of the Departments. This will leave $55,000,000 to be provided for. But the deficiency bill has just passed, calling for $9,700,000 additional, and the bill for deficiencies in the printing fund will make up the sum to a round ten millions—making for the current fiscal year an unavoidable expenditure, under legal authority, of $65,000,000. The receipts for the past three quarters, exclusive of Treasury notes, have been $36,000,000, the expenditures about $56,000,000. The deficiency of actual current revenue, as compared with receipts for the nine months ending March 31, was therefore $20,000,000, and the receipts at the present time represent an average of $30,000,000 for the year."

☞ An item of news has of late been travelling the rounds of the papers, to the effect that a sailor recently died in Texas, and upon his death had confessed that some forty years ago, he was one of a party of mutineers who took possession of a brig from Charleston to New York. The brig was the one which had on board Mrs. Allston, Aaron Burr's daughter, and the sailor confessed that she and the other passengers and officers were murdered. Col. Chester, the intelligent Washington correspondent of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* says:

> "The dying sailor professed to remember her well, said that she was the last who perished, and that he never forgot her look of despair as she took the last step from the fatal plank. On reading this account, I regarded it as a fiction, but, on conversing to-day with an officer of the navy, he assures me of its probable truth, and states that on one of his passages home, some years ago, his vessel brought two pirates in irons, who were subsequently executed at Norfolk, for recent offences, and who, before their execution, confessed that they had been members of the same crew, and participated in the murder of Mrs. Allston and her companions."

☞ Many of the Democratic journals have accused Thurlow Weed, of the Albany *Evening Journal*, of receiving $5,000 from the agent of Lawrence, Stone, & Co., for lobbying the tariff act through Congress. Mr. Weed denies this most emphatically. He says:

> "With all the seeming of truth in this statement, the facts, when they are known, will show how easy it is to pervert and distort the truth. We have not received, either from Messrs. Lawrence, Stone, & Co., nor from their agent, Mr. Wolcott, any amount of money. We have never, directly or indirectly, spoken to or communicated with either of those gentlemen on the subject of money. We did, however, receive authority, the latter part of March, 1857, from a friend in Boston, to draw on him for $5,000. The authority was from a gentleman with whom we were associated in raising funds for the Presidential election, and the money was designed to cover deficiencies.
>
> "Though pretty well known that elections cost money, the public are not generally enlightened with details. Without being disposed to reveal, voluntarily, the financial details of a canvass, it may be proper to say, that when the facts in the case shall have been called out, they will show that the *Herald's* version, is, as usual, entirely fabulous."

The Northern religious press generally comes out against the action of the Tract Society at their recent annual meeting. The *Independent* calls upon the Anti-Slavery friends of the Society to stand by it, in hopes of reversing this action, but not to contribute any money to it until it shall consent to open its mouth for the oppressed. The more radical Anti-Slavery journals seem to think the opposition at the annual meeting were served right, inasmuch as they did not ask the Society to issue tracts against Slavery, but against its abuses. If we mistake not, the Society has published tracts advocating total abstinence from intoxicating drinks. If the Opposition are right, the Society should limit itself to publishing tracts against *the abuses of* liquor-drinking.

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS,

FIRST SESSION.

Friday, May 14, 1858.

SENATE.

A resolution of inquiry was introduced by Mr. Bright, calling for any information or correspondence relative to the alleged seizure or search of American vessels by foreign armed cruisers in the Gulf of Mexico or the adjacent waters.

The Senators from the new State of Minnesota drew lots for the Senatorial class to which they should be respectively assigned, the result of which was, that Mr. Shields drew the term expiring on the 3d of March, 1859, and Mr. Rice the term expiring on the 3d of March, 1863.

Mr. Rice offered a resolution asking for the appointment of a special committee to investigate the charges made against him by certain citizens of Iowa. The consideration of the resolution was postponed in consequence of the absence of Mr. Harlan, the Senator through whom the charges had been preferred.

The Senate then proceeded to take up the private calendar, and spent the residue of the day's session in the discussion of private bills.

HOUSE.

The day was devoted to private bills, a number of which were reported and passed. The private calendar was then taken up, and considerable progress was made upon it, when, at half past four o'clock, the House found itself without quorum. A call of the House was then ordered, the proceedings under which occupied its attention until half past eleven o'clock, when an adjournment took place.

Saturday, May 15, 1858.

SENATE.

The day had been assigned by previous resolution to the consideration of business relating to the District of Columbia; and, after some debate as to the priority of business, (Mr. Hunter desiring to call up the pending appropriation bill,) it was decided by the Senate to adhere to the original order, devoting the day to legislation for the District.

Several bills were considered, debated, and passed, among the most important of which were a bill for the enforcement of mechanics' liens on buildings, &c., in the District of Columbia, a bill for the benefit of public schools in the city of Washington, and a bill authorizing the organization of a fire department in the District.

The only one of these measures which gave rise to much debate was that in relation to the public schools of Washington. Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, moved to strike out from the bill the section authorizing the payment from the Treasury of the United States of any sum not more than twenty thousand dollars to the support of public schools in this city, provided the same sum shall be raised by the corporation of Washington for the same purpose. He opposed this grant, on the ground of its imputed unconstitutionality. The Congress of the United States had no right, in his opinion, to appropriate the money of the National Treasury for the education of children in this District.

Mr. Brown zealously defended the provision, on the ground that it was the duty of the Federal Government, as the largest property holder in the city, to contribute to the maintenance of common schools in the same. It was calculated that the value of the public buildings in the city was about equal to that of all the private property in Washington, and it was therefore just and proper that the Government should bear an equal share in the burden of supporting an educational system.

Messrs. Wilson, Seward, and Crittenden, also defended the constitutionality and propriety of the measure. Mr. Toombs opposed it from considerations of expediency, without entertaining the question of constitutional power, which he thought more than doubtful. Mr. Green also briefly argued against the allowance of the grant.

The motion to strike out the section, being put to vote at the conclusion of the debate, was lost—yeas 13, nays 26. After which, the bill was read a third time and passed.

The resolution directing an inquiry into the truth of certain allegations made by citizens of Iowa against Mr. Rice, a Senator from the State of Minnesota, was called up during the session of Saturday, and the whole subject referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

At four o'clock, the Senate proceeded to hold an Executive session.

HOUSE.

Mr. R. W. Latham, of this city, whose arrest had been ordered for disobeying a summons to appear as a witness before one of the investigating committees, was arraigned, and ordered to be discharged, upon his appearing and testifying before the committee. The several private bills reported from the Committee of the Whole on Friday were passed, except a bill for the relief of the city of Carondelet, Missouri, which was rejected. A motion was submitted to discharge the Committee on the Judiciary from the further consideration of one of the memorials asking for the impeachment of Judge Watrous, of Texas: but no action was had on the subject. The bill to refund to certain merchants of New York the duties on goods destroyed by fire in 1845 was further considered, and finally laid on the table, by yeas 88, nays 73. The House adjourned at a quarter past four o'clock.—*National Intelligencer.*

Monday, May 17, 1858.

SENATE.

Mr. Seward submitted the following resolution, and asked its present consideration:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire whether any legislation is necessary to enable the President of the United States to protect American vessels against British aggression in the Gulf of Mexico or elsewhere, and to report by bill or otherwise.

This resolution merely instructed the committee to inquire whether any additional legislation was necessary; because, if so, it should at once be considered, as the session was drawing to a close. These aggressions were becoming intolerable; already, it would seem, eleven of our vessels have been detained, and, in some way, fired into by British cruisers.

Mr. Mason said that he had no further information on this subject, save what was derived from the newspapers of the day, which was not of such a character as would warrant the Senate to act in the matter. If the facts were as had been stated, they would indeed involve matters for very grave inquiry. He would prefer that the resolution lie over.

The resolution was laid over under the rule.

The special order of the day was the bill making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the year ending the 30th of June, 1859, which had been reconsidered on Thursday last, on motion of Mr. Doolittle, for the purpose of introducing an amendment granting the usual extra compensation to the reporters of the Senate. The debate on the propriety of this proposition was resumed and participated in by Messrs. Toombs, Brown, Shields, Johnson of Arkansas, Pugh, Stuart, Mason, Davis, Fessenden, Hunter, Simmons, Trumbull, Bell, and others.

At the conclusion of the discussion, which embraced the whole range of Congressional reporting, its expense, nature of the contract under which it is executed, &c., the amendment allowing extra compensation to the reporters of the Senate was adopted; after which, a motion to strike out the whole section containing this appropriation for the benefit of the reporters in both branches of Congress was rejected—yeas 20, nays 31.

A motion still further to amend the bill, by inserting an appropriation for two assistants, to be appointed by the Attorney General, to serve in his office, was lost, after a brief debate; and the bill, being again put upon its passage, was carried.

The Senate then proceeded, on motion of Mr. Slidell, to the consideration of Executive business.

HOUSE.

The Admission of New States.—Mr. Quitman, of Mississippi, asked leave to introduce a joint resolution concerning the admission of new States into the Union, as follows:

Resolved, &c., That hereafter no new States formed out of the Territories of the United States shall be admitted into the Union until it shall have been ascertained by a census, taken by authority of Congress, that the Territory seeking admission contains a fixed population equal to the number required for a Representative in Congress, according to the ratio then existing; nor until the people of such Territory shall have been authorized by act of Congress to hold a Convention and to form a Constitution, and shall have presented the same for admission into the Union, in pursuance of said permission, and in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. Kelsey, of New York, objected.

Mr. Quitman moved a suspension of the rules.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, called for the yeas and nays, which were ordered, and resulted—yeas 89, nays 87.

So the rules were not suspended, two-thirds not voting for the motion. The motion was voted for by the Administration and South Americans, against by the Republicans.

Expulsion of the Doorkeeper.—The House proceeded, as the regular order of business, to consider the report of the Committee on Accounts, charging malpractices against the Doorkeeper, and recommending the passage of the following resolution:

Resolved, That R. B. Hackney, Doorkeeper of the present House of Representatives, be and he is hereby dismissed forthwith from that office.

After several attempts to postpone the subject, and to give the Doorkeeper a further hearing, the resolution was adopted—yeas 161, nays 34.

Resolutions were then passed, regulating the compensation of the Doorkeeper and his subordinates.

Mr. Morris, of Pennsylvania, offered a resolution instructing the Committee of Ways and Means to report upon the expediency of revising the present tariff, and augmenting the duties on articles of domestic manufacture, so as to afford increased protection to American industry. The vote on suspending the rules for the introduction of the resolution was—yeas 86, nays 101.

The Republicans generally voted for suspending the rules, willing to grant an inquiry into the subject. The Administration party voted against it. The House soon after adjourned.

House of Representatives,
May 13, 1858.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Dear Sir: In your paper of to-day, I am reported as claiming that "Congress had no right to keep Minnesota out of the Union until she would consent to form an objectionable Constitution. They had no right to pass upon the propriety or even the decency of her Constitution, in any manner, so long as it was the expression of the will of the people."

The above is so contrary to my sentiments, and to what I said, that I beg leave to ask you to correct it. By reference to the official report of my remarks upon the Minnesota bill, it will be found that I took directly the opposite of the above position. I claimed that the right to admit new States implied the right to reject or impose conditions; that the Constitutions of new States, if they were fundamentally wrong, *should be rejected*, but that the manner of its formation was immaterial, if it be not radically defective, and if it be accepted by the people. This was but an incidental point, collateral to my main argument, but I do not wish my position upon so important a question to be misunderstood.

I am, very truly, yours, P. Bliss.

Sheffield, Mass., *May* 2, 1858.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Dear Sir: I am the youngest member of seven living brothers and sisters. My own age is nearly seventy-one, that of my oldest brother nearly eighty-nine; the aggregate of our ages is 553 years and a fraction over.

The average of our ages to-day is 79 years 1 month and 2 days. Believing this to be a solitary case of such longevity, especially in New England, where we all reside, you are at liberty to publish the above, if you wish.

Respectfully yours, George Swift.

THE RIFLEMEN OF THE WEST.

From Vol. VII of Benton's Abridgment of the Debates of Congress.

Mr. Benton stopped a moment to speak of an exploit too little known to history. He said that the British and Indians, to the number of 1,600, appeared before St. Louis in the year 1780. General George Rogers Clark was then upon the American Bottom, with the conquerors of Vincennes and Kaskaskia. The French of St. Louis sent to invoke his aid. He had but 400 men, and might have declined with honor. He might have said: Our numbers are too few, the river is too wide and rapid; you are strangers, and live beyond the confines of my country; you may be in collusion with the enemy, to draw me across the Mississippi, and to revenge in Louisiana the defeat of your countrymen in Illinois. But such was not the language of General Clark, nor of the 400 brave men that followed his steps. He or they knew not danger. Knew it not! May their spirits pardon me, said Mr. Benton, for applying to them such a fourth-of-July expression. They did know danger—were born in its presence, and grew up in its company—and each could say, with Cæsar—

> "Danger and I are brothers,
> Twin lions whelped in one hour,
> And I the elder and more terrible."

They were the riflemen of the West, and took counsel, not from danger, but from honor and courage. They divided into two bodies, and marched to the relief of St. Louis. Two hundred presented themselves opposite the town, and two hundred crossed the river below. At the sight of such boldness, the British and Indians, believing them to be the vanguard of a great army, suddenly retired, after killing eighty of the inhabitants, and leaving an impression of terror which still marks that year as an epoch of calamity; "*l'année du coup.*" History, continued Mr. B., tells of the passage of the Rhone and Granicus; but here is the passage of a river unknown to history, yet surpassing the exploit of Hannibal and Alexander as much in heroism and magnanimity as the Father of Floods surpasses in magnitude the puny streams of Gaul and of Asia Minor.

Latest from Kansas.

A message from Fort Scott reached Lawrence on the 3d, giving a distressing account of the outrages on the Free-State men. One was brought into the fort on the 28th of April, and sentenced to be shot. Eight ruffians took him to the timber, and drew lots to see who should commit the deed. It fell on Brockett, when he deliberately shot him dead, for no offence but *his opinion.* Judge Williams had broken up the district court, not daring to have Free-State men come there. Seven of the United States soldiers have been found guilty of joining the Pro-Slavery guerillas to scour the country at night. Eight eager hordes of Free-State settlers had left the Little Osage Valley in one company, in consequence of the insecurity of life and property, and nearly all the settlers there, of all parties, had left. They tell horrible tales of their sufferings. Mapleton, the settlement of the Vermont Colony, is nearly deserted. Men are shot down in cold blood without provocation, and all the horrors of the Shannon war are now felt by that distracted neighborhood. On the other hand, the correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican* gives an account of the proceedings of Lane's committee of safety at Fort Scott, which ordered certain Pro-Slavery men to leave the territory on pain of death. One of the resolutions of the committee was, "that Captain Anderson shall be hanged upon the highest tree in Bourbon county, and every soldier be put death, wherever he may be found."

Another letter in the *Republican* says that "the Democrats of Kansas are to unite with the conservative, anti-nigger Free-Soilers, and kill the Leavenworth bastard on the 18th inst., when the people are to vote upon its acceptance." He predicts that the Leavenworth Constitution will be overwhelmingly defeated. This is not good authority, but probably the best thing for Kansas, under present circumstances, is to reject the Leavenworth as well as the Lecompton Constitution, and remain a Territory until her people can settle down into a sober conviction of what they do want, and then carry it through in a regular and legitimate manner. The Leavenworth Constitution has a taint of irregularity about it, in consequence of the criminal delay of the act authorizing it in the Territorial Legislature, which was too busy and speculative in town lots to attend to its appropriate business.

Money brings a high price in Kansas. The Lawrence *Republican*, fears its veracity will be questioned when it says, "we have seen five, ten, and fifteen per cent. per month paid for money, loaned on good real estate securities; and we are reliably informed that some very conscientious sharks have lately refused to loan at less than twenty per cent. per month, and have even realized that per cent. in some cases."

EXCITING MEETING OF THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

Defeat of the Northern Fanatics.

The New York papers are filled with accounts of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the American Tract Society, which met in that city on Wednesday, in the Reformed Dutch Church, Lafayette Place. About two thousand persons, from various sections of the Union, were admitted by ticket, showing the great interest taken in the question at issue—whether or not the executive committee were justified in suppressing or suspending the publication of the tract "The Duties of Masters," alleged to have been offensive to the people of the South, especially slaveholders. The publication of this tract was commenced under a resolution adopted at the last annual meeting, looking to the discussion of the moral aspect of Slavery. Soon after the opening of the meeting—over which Chief Justice Williams, of Conn., presided—Rev. Dr. Adams made a report, justifying the executive committee.

The Rev. Dr. Magee made a few remarks. Two truths were plain to the committee, and these considerations had governed them. Had they published the tract to which reference had been made, they would have dismembered the Society. That was one conclusion at which they had arrived, and the evidence upon which it was based was not and could not be so well appreciated by those who had not their opportunity of judging it. They did fully believe it. Another was, that a large majority of the friends of the Society were not prepared to adopt a course which should thus result. A farther and equally plain consideration was, that it was useless to publish a tract addressed to masters, which would have but a small circulation in the South among those to whom it was addressed, and which in the North was not needed. They had decided not to mix the American Tract Society with the great exciting question. This was their simple decision.

The matter was now before them, and in judging it he hoped they had sought the grace of God, and would act under his guidance. Great interests were at stake. Should they adopt a course which would separate them from fifteen States and ten millions of people—a field where their labors were most called for? Such were the views of the committee. [Hisses and applause.]

The President hoped there would be no demonstrations of approval or dissent, as this was not a political meeting.

Bishop McIlvaine moved that the action of the committee be sustained, and made a long speech.

Prof. Crosby read from a tract, entitled "Sambo and Tony," in which slaves are counselled not to go from plantation to plantation, and to obey their masters, and asked if the Society published it.

Amid much confusion, and cries of "order!" Dr. William Adams said the tract was published twenty years ago.

Dr. Tyng attempted to get the floor, amid cries of "order!" "Dr. Tyng," "Let 'em answer the question!" &c.

Order being restored, Dr. Tyng spoke in favor of the resolution of the Society which admitted the discussion of the moral aspects of Slavery to be a legitimate subject for the Society to discuss, and moved to lay Bishop McIlvaine's motion on the table, in order that a resolution reaffirming that position be affirmed.

Dr. Tyng's motion was voted upon *viva voce*, and the Chairman said it was lost. A division was called for, and the affirmative was counted; but when the negative arose, it so largely preponderated that a count was deemed unnecessary.

Much excitement prevailed. Some called for a count; others declared that the motion was lost, ten to one; and the members of the committee displayed many symptoms of delight.

There was a long delay and great confusion. A partial count was made; but order was finally so far restored that Judge Jessup attempted to move an amendment to Bishop McIlvanie's motion, but was interrupted by loud calls for the previous question in all parts of the house, and another scene of tumult followed. Several of the majority declared that it was not fair to choke off discussion.

Judge Jessup read his amendment, reaffirming the resolution of last year, which was declared to be unanimous.

Dr. Bethune protested that it was not unanimous. He was requested to say for Dr. Spring that he did not vote for it, and he (Bethune) did not.

Doctor Thompson. Did either of you vote against it?

Bethune. No. [Laughter.]

Thompson. Then there was no vote against it, and it was unanimous.

Dr. Bethune said that, at the meeting last year, he was asked by Dr. Thompson to second the resolution, but refused to do it. He thought that anything coming from the chief editor of the *Independent* was to be regarded with suspicion, and not likely to meet his approval.

Laughter, hisses, cries of "Order!" and general confusion followed. Judge Jessup at last got the floor, and said it was vain for gentlemen to say that the action of the society last year was not unanimous. The fact that one, two, or fifty, might not have concurred, did not change the fact that there was no dissenting voice, and that the resolution meant but as the unanimous sentiment of this society. He went on to argue the reasonableness of that resolution, and deprecated the idea of receding from it, as a measure which would open the floodgates of agitation, and disturb again the peace of the society.

Dr. Bethune got the floor at the close of Judge Jessup's remarks. A scene of confusion followed, and there were, for several minutes, mingled cries of "Bethune," "Question," and "Order."

Rev. Dr. Bacon then got the floor, and made a warm Anti Slavery speech, and was followed by the Rev. Dr. Bethune, on the opposite side, in a powerful and affecting speech. He deprecated the idea of no fellowship with slaveholders; for that was excommunicating them from the Church of God, and thus the unhappy South were prevented from having the gospel. He thought the devil never instituted a scheme so truly malignant as this to prevent the spread of the gospel. The worst cannibals in Africa, the natives of Congo, all would have the gospel preached to them, but the extreme men of the North would first deny them the gospel, and then deny them the tract. What, then, was to become of these millions? Were they to be permitted to go down to hell, because these extreme people willed it? God forbid.

Rev. Mr. Thompson (editor of *Independent*) offered an amendment accepting the statements of the publishing committee, but ordering a tract to be published on the duties of masters. After Dr. Thompson's speech, the society agreed to take a vote at three P. M. Five-minute speeches occupied the hour from two till three.

Prof. Howard Crosby offered a resolution that "no tract bearing on the Slavery question be published, and that the tract called Sambo and Toby be suppressed."

Rev. Dr. Johns, of Baltimore, then spoke five minutes, saying that he should return home, assuring his friends that the hearts of the members of the society at the North beat in unison with theirs at the South. He and the Maryland delegation came here not to discuss the Slavery question, but to vote for sustaining the action of the committee. He thought the North could best understand and correct evils at the North. The South could not intelligently do it, and just so it is impossible for the North to interfere with the evils relating peculiarly to the South. Dr. Johns further stated that he had come to the meeting to pay a legacy of $10,000 from a slaveholder.

Rev. Mr. Williams, of Baltimore, had the concluding five minutes. He would stand by the constitution of the society. If that is infringed, the South will withdraw entirely, leaving it to be the Northern, and not the American Tract Society. He contended for the right of the South to take care of its own children without interference.

When the hour for taking the question arrived, the amendment of Prof. Howard Crosby was first almost unanimously rejected.

The amendment of Rev. Dr. Thompson (*Independent*) was lost by a large majority.

The resolution of Bp. McIlvaine was carried, as follows, by a large majority:

Resolved, That the action of the executive committee be approved.

The protestants to the election of Bright and Fitch as United States Senators from Indiana are taking testimony under a resolution of the Senate, D. W. Voorhees and other Federal office-holders appearing for the bogus Senators.

LATER FROM CALIFORNIA.

New York, May 13.—The steamer Star of the West, with upwards of $1,600,000 in gold, arrived here this morning, from Aspinwall. Her advices from California are to the 20th ultimo.

The steamer Merrimac and sloop-of-war Decatur remained at Panama. All well.

Business at San Francisco was dull, but the mining and agricultural prospects of the State were eminently favorable.

Forrest city, in Nevada county, California, has been burnt entirely.

Rich gold diggings have been discovered in Carson valley.

Later advices had been received from Lieut. Ives's expedition. He states that his exploration demonstrates the navigability of the Colorado river to the mouth of Virgin river.

Archy, the fugitive slave, has been discharged.

The Legislature of California has passed a bill prohibiting the future immigration of free negroes to California, compelling those already there to register their names and take out a license. The measure produced great excitement amongst them, and meetings were being held, in which they discussed the question of immigrating in a body to Vancouver's Island.

Advices from Oregon to the 8th of April had reached San Francisco. The Republicans had nominated John Denny, of Marion county, for Governor, and J. R. McBride for Congress. The Democrats had nominated Lafayette Grover for Congress.

The Sandwich Islands had made a new treaty with France.

News from the Isthmus announces that the Cass-Yrisarri treaty had passed the Senate of Granada in a slightly-modified form. There is talk of another revolution at Bogota.

Callao dates to the 12th of April represent affairs quiet. Gen. Castilla had arrived at Arequipa, and was enthusiastically received.

The United States steamer Saranac left Valparaiso on the 3d ultimo, for Callao.

The surveying steamer Shubrick arrived at Panama on the 12th ultimo.

William Bucklee, formerly of Baltimore, died in San Francisco, April 18th.

Col. Fremont had arrived in San Francisco.

Robert E. Woods, late Treasurer of San Francisco county, is dead.

LATER FROM EUROPE—ENGLISH SUCCESSES IN INDIA.

New York, May 11.—The steamer Persia, with Liverpool dates to the 1st instant, arrived here to-day. Her advices are three days later.

The steamer North Star, from New York, had not arrived out when the Persia sailed.

The steamer Glasgow arrived out on the 28th ultimo.

The news from India is quite interesting. Sir Hugh Rose invested Jhusi with three brigades on the 27th of March. The rebels, 12,000 strong, retired to the fort, and on the next day the bombardment was commenced. An attempt was made on the first of April, by 25,000 rebels, to raise the siege, but they were defeated, with the slaughter of 1,500 men, and the loss of all their guns and camp equipage. The town was stormed and taken on the 4th, and the fort occupied on the 6th, the rebels having 3,000 men killed in this conflict. Six British officers were also killed. The Prince escaped with a few attendants, and was hotly pursued.

Gen. Roberts carried Kotah on the 20th, with a great slaughter of the rebels, the English loss being but trifling.

The 37th regiment, under Col. Milman, had been compelled to retire from near Apinseur, and, at the last accounts, was shut up at Azimghur. Strong detachments had gone to his relief.

The country opposite Benares was much disturbed, but the northern provinces had been quietly disarmed.

Calssee was filled with rebels, and a great panic was prevailing there.

A strong column of troops had gone from Cawnpore into Oude, to attack Karroh.

The debate in Parliament on D'Israeli's Indian resolutions began on the 30th. The first resolution, declaring it expedient to vest the government of India in the British Crown, was carried with cheers. The debate was then adjourned.

The bill for the admission of Jews into Parliament had been again rejected by the House of Lords, by a vote of 119 against 80.

A banquet has been tendered the jury which tried and acquitted Dr. Bernard, but after consultation, they declined the intended ovation.

The work on the Atlantic telegraph cable was going briskly forward. More than two thousand miles have been coiled on board the ships, and the paying out machinery has been completed, and pronounced perfect.

Rumors were in circulation at Paris in relation to the present system of the administration, and the retirement shortly of Count Espinasse from the Interior Department.

The plenipotentiaries of the European Powers had held a conference to ratify the boundary between Russia and Turkey. Also, to consider Professor Morse's claims on Europe for indemnification for his telegraphic invention. Nothing was resolved on, but the prospects were favorable for Prof. Morse.

Russia has decided to construct three lines of railway between the Black and Caspian Seas.

The Paris *Moniteur* publishes a decree ordering 42,000 additional soldiers into active service. The Bourse became heavy in consequence.

Quebec, May 17.—The steamer North America arrived off River Du Loup at ten o'clock this morning. She has Liverpool dates to the 5th of May.

The steamer North Star arrived out on the 1st instant, and the steamer America on the 3d.

The debate in Parliament on the resolution relative to the Government of India was progressing.

A resolution endorsing the union of the Danubian Principalities was rejected in the House of Commons by a large majority.

The French Legislature has adopted the budget lately submitted by the Government.

The envoys of the leading Powers have requested the German Diet to consider the proposition of Denmark relative to the Duchies.

The English papers are filled with accounts of the Sepoy warfare, and especially with sickening details of the fall of Lucknow. A correspondent gives a graphic description of the storming of the Begum's Palace, March 12, from which we make the following extract:

"Just turning to the left, we were about entering a court-yard, when an officer said, 'Mind what you are about! There are some fellows hid inside there, and one of them has just shot a sergeant of the 93d and a man of the 90th.' This is, as you will have observed, a mode in which our men frequently lose their lives in this odious warfare. Soon afterwards I saw one of these fanatics—a fine old Sepoy—with grizzled moustache, lying dead in the court, a sword-cut across his temple, a bayonet thrust through the neck, his thigh broken by a bullet, and his stomach slashed open, in a desperate attempt to escape.

"There had been five or six of these fellows altogether, and they had either been surprised and unable to escape, or had shut themselves up in desperation in a small room, one of many looking out on the court. At first, attempts were made to start them by throwing a live shell. The use of a bag of gunpowder was more successful; out they charged, and, with the exception of one man, were shot and bayoneted on the spot. The man who got away did so by a desperate leap through a window amid a shower of bullets and many bayonet thrusts. Such are the common incidents of this war. We went up to the top of the mosque, upon the left of the palace, but the fire from the Kaiserbagh was too near and sharp for one to remain there without cover.

"From court to court of the huge pile of buildings we wandered through the same scenes—dead Sepoys, blood-splashed gardens, groups of eager Highlanders looking out for the enemy's loop-holes—more eager groups of plunderers searching the dead, many of whom lay heaped on the top of each other, amid the ruins of rooms brought down upon them by our cannon shot. Two of these were veritable chambers of horrors. It must be remembered that the Sepoys and match-lock men wear cotton clothes, many at this time of year using thickly-quilted tunics; and in each room there were a number of *resais*, or quilted cotton cover-lids, which serve as beds and quilts to the natives.

"The explosion of powder sets fire to this cotton very readily, and it may easily be conceived how horrible are the consequences when a number of these Sepoys and nujeebs get into a place where there is no escape, and where they fall in heaps by our shot. The matches of the men, the discharges of their guns, set fire to their cotton clothing; it is fed by the very fat of the dead bodies; the smell is pungent and overpowering, and nauseous to a degree. I looked in at two such rooms, where, through the dense smoke, I could see piles of bodies, and I was obliged to own that the horrors of the hospital at Sebastopol were not exceeded by what I witnessed.

"Upwards of three hundred dead were found in the courts of the palace, and, if we put the wounded carried off at seven hundred, we may reckon that the capture of the place cost the enemy one thousand men at least. The rooms of the building round the numerous courts were for the most part small and dark, compared with the great size of the corridors and garden enclosures. The state saloon, fitted up for durbars and entertainments, once possessed some claims to magnificence, which were, however, now lying under our feet in the shape of lustres, mirrors, pier-glasses, gilt tables, damask, silk, and satin, and embroidered fragments of furniture, marble tables, over which one made his way from place to place with difficulty.

"The camp followers were busily engaged in selecting and carrying away such articles as attracted their fancy—shawls, *resais*, cushions, umbrellas, swords, matchlocks, tomtoms, or drums, pictures, looking-glasses, trumpets, but the more remarkable plunder disappeared last night. It will be long ere a Begum can live here in state again. Every room, and wall, and tower, are battered and breached by our shot."

Submission of the Mormons to the United States Authorities—The Utah War Probably Ended.

St. Louis, May 17.—An express agent from Camp Scott, with advices to the 10th of April, arrived at Fort Leavenworth on Thursday, and brings the important intelligence that the Mormons had laid down their arms, and that Gov. Cummings had entered Salt Lake City, on the invitation of Brigham Young, without the protection of the military.

As further proof of the peaceful intentions of the people, large numbers had already taken their departure for the Sierra Nevada, and others were preparing to follow.

Col. Kane, a peace commissioner on the part of the Government, had arrived at Salt Lake City, *via* California, on the 25th of February, and it is presumed was instrumental in bringing about the result as announced.

Gen. Smith, commander of the Utah expedition, had not reached Leavenworth when the express arrived, but it was believed that further movements of the troops would be stopped upon his arrival, as the submission of the Saints had rendered their services altogether useless.

Minnesota Senators.

The Minnesota United States Senators have drawn lots for term of office. General Shields drew the term expiring March, 1859, and Mr. Rice drew the term expiring March, 1863.

Utica, May, 11.—A dreadful accident has occurred on the Central railroad, by the crushing of the bridge over Sauquoit creek. Seven or eight persons are dead, and some five or six more so dreadfully hurt that they are barely alive. Over fifty are injured.

The following are killed: A. Moore, of Rising Sun, Indiana; two children of Abraham Mack, of Cincinnati, and a child of Karl Hever, of St. Louis. Names of others unknown.

Wounded: James Ward, conductor, badly; W. H. Perkins, grocer, of Rochester, probably fatally; Walter H. Shule, of Rome, Ohio, not dangerously; M. Bellman, of Cincinnati, probably fatally; S. R. Tucker, of Dry Ridge, Ky., slightly; Geo. Cort, of Columbus, Ohio, not badly; C. F. Dushe, of Louisville, Ky., slightly; Mrs. Schenck, Louisville, badly; Miss Aldrich, of Louisville, slightly; A. Cobb, of Yorkshire, New York, slightly, Mrs. Phoeveu, probably fatally injured, Karl Huer, St. Louis, severely bruised; his wife bruised and burned; Mr. Riley, brakesman, leg broken; J. F. Tracey, superintendent Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, head cut, but not dangerous; John Clemens, of Erie, Pa., was considerably bruised, but left on the next train; Miss Cook, of Sunbury, New York, slightly bruised; S. S. Haton, of Binghamton, slightly; Wm. Hart, of Cleveland, slightly; A. A. Langworthy, of St. Clairsville, New York, slightly; S. M. Allen, President of the Niagara canal, slightly; R. W. Bulkley and sister Mary, of New York, slightly; Miss L. W. Andrews, of Tempster, N. H., slightly; Wm. Brickwell, of Rome, N. Y., badly; a lady from Kentucky, unknown, probably fatally; Abraham Mack, wife, and six children, all injured; Josephine Horbler, badly hurt on the head; David Levi, of Cincinnati, badly hurt, but will probably recover; Raphael Bonman, of Germany, leg broken; John Mcdonald, of Morris, N. Y., badly hurt, but will recover; John Wallace, of Eagle Harbor, Lake Superior, badly hurt; John Munroe, of Greenbush, hurt internally; Hugh Lesley, of Minnesota, head injured badly; Mrs. Yates, of Fulton, N. Y., G. E. Rowlee, of Sanbornton, N. H., wife of Michael Broderick, of Boston, Mrs. Mary Batchelder, H. John, of Michigan, and many others, are also more or less injured.

The accident occurred to the Cincinnati Express train, due here at 6.20. The train was behind time at Whitesboro', and coming along at a high rate of speed, met on the bridge over the Sauquoit creek, the Utica accommodation train for the West, when the bridge gave way under the shock, precipitating the freight and engines into the creek, and piling the passenger cars one above the other, complete wrecks. Those seriously injured were all upon the express train.

Richmond, May 10, P. M.—A terrible hail storm passed through Chesterfield county last evening; stones, varying in size from a pea to an egg, fell in immense quantities. Vegetation was completely destroyed, and the ground strewn with leaves and branches. Many windows were broken by the hail, which fell to the depth of two or three feet in some places.

The train from Petersburg last evening came in contact with a fallen tree, and the engine and cars were much damaged, but no one was hurt. The storm was unprecedented in this neighborhood.

St. Louis, May 15.—A violent tornado occurred on Thursday, which was so severe as actually to blow a train of cars on the Chicago and Alton railroad off the track at Lexington, Illinois, by which several persons were severely injured. The towns in that vicinity suffered severely, and many houses were prostrated. Three persons were killed at Tonawanda.

Yesterday, another storm occurred between Bloomington and Springfield, which did much damage to a number of houses at Elkhart and Williamsville. The latter was nearly demolished, and a family of five persons killed.

Utica, N. Y., May 15.—The coroner's jury in the case of the late frightful accident on the Central Railroad at Sauquoit creek, have agreed on their verdict. The feeling of the jurors is understood to have been unanimous at once.

"We find that the persons whose bodies have been veiwed by us came to their deaths by the giving way of the bridge of the New York Central Railroad, crossing the Sauquoit creek, in the town of Whitestown, Oneida county, on the morning of the 11th of May, and that they were all passengers by the Cincinnati express train coming east.

"The deaths were caused by the insecurity of the bridge, owing to the same being decayed and rotten. A portion of the bridge was constructed of inferior timber, the same being bastard elm. We find the deaths were caused by culpable neglect on the part of the Central Railroad Company, in not causing this bridge to be properly examined."

Cleveland, O., May 15.—A shocking accident occurred on the Lafayette and Indianapolis railroad at one o'clock this morning. As the Cincinnati night express train, bound north, was crossing a bridge 22 miles east of Lafayette, it gave way, precipitating the whole train into the water. James Irwin, conductor, Jacob Bartenger, engineer, and Maloney, fireman, were killed. None of the passengers were injured.

The night was very dark, and the high water had undermined the abutments of the bridge. The train was running at the rate of twenty-five miles per hour. The engine had reached the end of the bridge, which was 100 feet long, when the whole gave way.

A singular phenomenon was observed in the city of Hudson, about nine o'clock on Saturday night last. A band, about the width of the rainbow, extending the length of the zodiac, with regular defined edges, was seen about this time, looking like a magnicent piece of lace-work. It lasted twenty minutes, when it finally disappeared in the east.

Apparent Confirmation of the Utah News.

Philadelphia, May 18.—A dispatch has been received here from St Louis, confirming the statement that Col. Kane had effected negotiations with the Mormons, and that Gov. Cumming had departed from Camp Scott for Salt Lake city, where his arrival was anticipated on the 11th of March; and further, that handsome apartments had been provided for him by Brigham Young.

The bearer of this intelligence states that Gov. Powell and Col. McCullough, U. S. Commissioners, were met on the 6th, twenty miles from Fort Kearney.

The Congressional nominations in Missouri thus far made abundantly show that in the next election the division will be for and against emancipation. The Democrats have renominated their present Pro-Slavery Representatives, Messrs. John B. Clark, James Craig, and John S. Phelps, with John W. Noell in place of Sam. Caruthers, whose health is badly impaired, and have accepted Messrs. Woodson and Andrews, the Lecompton American members of the present Congress, thus in effect consolidating the Pro-Slavery interests of both parties throughout the State. Mr. Blair will most surely be re-elected in the St. Louis district, and the emancipationists have strong hopes of carrying one or two of the interior districts on that distinct issue.

The Indianapolis *Journal*, the leading Republican paper of Indiana, contains a very flattering notice of John G. Davis, one of the Douglas men of that State, who, although voting for the original Nebraska swindle in 1854, was firm and consistent to the last in opposing a consummation of the outrage. The *Journal* says, that of all the Douglas Democrats of the Northwest, out of Illinois, he is the only one whose integrity has never so much as been suspected, and very plainly intimates a wish that the Republicans shall cordially sustain him for a re-election.

The Emperor Napoleon is having an elegant palace built at Marseilles. The material is to be marble, from a new quarry at Payregnins. The beacon hill has been cut down five or six metres, so that the Emperor will be able, as he sits in his study, to see at the south the isles of If, the Frioul, and the bay; at the north, the old Phocean basin, with its thousand vessels, the city and the suburbs, with their country seats; at the east, the barren but picturesque rock of Notre Dame de la Garde; and at the west, the Port de la Joliette, the Napoleon Docks, and the new Quarantine.

The city of Providence, for a wonder, did up its municipal business in one day, last Tuesday, re-electing Mayor Rodman—who was chosen in the fifth or sixth trial last year—by 2,294 votes to 1,172 for John N. Francis, his Democratic opponent, and adding thereto a full Republican board of aldermen and an almost unanimous common council. The citizens voted to choose the aldermen by wards hereafter, and also to elect the assessors, school committee, city clerk, treasurer, marshal, harbor master, supeintendent of health, collector, overseer of the poor, and city solicitor, by popular vote.

Col. Arthur P. Hayne, the new U. S. Senator from South Carolina, was, during the war of 1812, an officer of the United States army. As a Lieutenant, he participated in the battle of Sackett's Harbor, under General Brown; as Adjutant General, he served in the Creek Nation, under General Jackson, with whom he also bore a gallant part in the battle of New Orleans. He was a great favorite with General Jackson. Col. H. resigned his commission soon after the war.

New Orleans, May 14.—Billy Bowlegs, the renowned Seminole Chief, accompanied by one hundred and sixty-five other chiefs and followers, and Col. Rector, arrived in this city to-day. A further representation from the war grounds of Florida is shortly expected.

The leaders in the several branches of the Anti-Lecompton force of Buffalo and vicinity have joined in a circular, inviting effective union against the Administration, and as a preliminary propose a mass meeting in that city on the 27th instant. Mr. Fillmore's friends join in the movement, Messrs. S. G. Haven and E. R. Jewett signing the circular, along with E. G. Spalding, Benjamin Welsh, jr., and P. Dorsheimer. If these men had united two years ago, we should have been spared the mortification and trial of Mr. Buchanan's experiments with Republicanism.

At the municipal election at St Paul, Minnesota, on the 4th, Kittson, the Democratic candidate for Mayor, was elected by 243 majority, while the Anti-Lecompton candidates for City Treasurer and Comptroller are elected, the former by 602, and the latter by 95 majority. This is an Anti-Lecompton triumph, as St. Paul has hitherto been Democratic by 600 majority.

Francis W. Pickens, who was in the House from 1835 to 1843, will probably be sent to the United States Senate from South Carolina, in place of Mr. Evans. Mr. Pickens was lately appointed Minister to Russia, but has not departed for that country.

On Thursday, April 15th, says the London *Daily News*, "his excellency the American Minister and family honored the mid-day performances of the Great United States Circus with their presence. Many members of the aristocracy were also present.

The Paris *Union* declares that statistical returns have just revealed the fact that there are now in France 1,800,000 young females, of a marriageable age, who are on the lookout for husbands! Unfortunately, it does not say how many marriageable men are on the lookout for wives.

The Republican State Convention of Vermont, which it was supposed would be called for June 10th, has been appointed for June 29th, at Montpelier, so as to give the Congressional delegation a chance to meet the people at the opening of the canvass.

The Boston City Government having neglected to appoint a city liquor agent, State Commissioner Burnham has appointed George P. Clapp as agent, and he has opened an office near the Revere House, the only place in Boston where liquors are legally retailed.

For some time past, a mammoth tent, for religious services, has been in process of erection on the lot of ground adjoining the American Academy of Music, on Broad street, Philadelphia, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association of that city. It was opened on Saturday, with appropriate services.

It is stated that Mrs. Cunningham has adopted the celebrated "bogus baby," and will rear it as her own. The woman has some new plot in progress, undoubtedly, in which the baby will be an important actor.

The report that Gov. Robinson was speaking in Kansas against the Leavenworth Constitution could hardly have been true, since, as late as the 28th ultimo, he wrote a letter in favor of that Constitution, and against the adoption of the Lecompton instrument by any compromise.

Commissioners from Gen. Castro, Provisional President of Venezuela, have arrived at Philadelphia, to invite Gen. Paez to return to his native country.

No man can tell whether he is rich or poor by turning to his ledger. It is the heart that makes a man rich. He is rich or poor, according to what he *is*, not according to what he *has*.

A French paper calls dyspepsia "the remorse of a guilty stomach."

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PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

The Sixth Yearly Meeting of the Progressive Friends of Pennsylvania will convene at Longwood, near Hamorton, Chester county, on FIRST DAY, the 30th of Fifth month, 1858, at 10 o'clock A. M., and continue its sessions, probably, for three or four successive days.

The friends of Truth, Purity, and Progress, however named or nameless, are cordially invited to aid us by their presence and co-operation

OLIVER JOHNSON,
HENRIETTA W. JOHNSON,
JOSEPH A. DUGDALE,
JOHN WILLIAM COX,
And others.

Communications for the Meeting may be addressed to Joseph A. Dugdale, Hamorton, Chester county, Pa., or to Oliver Johnson, Anti-Slavery Office, New York.

Longwood Meeting-house is one mile west of Hamorton, on the road leading to Kennett Square. Strangers are informed that a daily mail-coach runs to the latter place, from Wilmington, Del., passing directly by the Meeting-house. The distance from Wilmington to Longwood is 13 miles. Between Philadelphia and Wilmington there is daily communication both by railroad and steamboat.

Theodore Parker and C. C. Burleigh intend being at the Yearly Meeting.

MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, May 18, 1858.

Flour, Howard Street	$4.37	@ 4.25
Flour, City Mills	4.12	@ 4.00
Rye Flour	3.25	@ 3.50
Corn Meal	3.30	@ 3.50
Wheat, white	1.07	@ 1.15
Wheat, red	1.03	@ 1.07
Corn, white	60	@ 63
Corn, yellow	66	@ 68
Rye, Pennsylvania	72	@ 00
Rye, Virginia	66	@ 00
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	30	@ 38
Oats, Pennsylvania	39	@ 42
Clover Seed	4.50	@ 4.37
Timothy Seed	2.50	@ 2.25
Hay, Timothy	15.00	@ 20.00
Hops	7	@ 14
Potatoes, Mercer	1.30	@ 1.40
Bacon, Shoulders	7½	@ 8
Bacon, Sides	9¼	@ 9½
Bacon, Hams	11½	@ 12
Pork, Mess	17.75	@ 19.00
Pork, Prime	15.75	@ 15.00
Beef, Mess	17.00	@ 17.25
Lard, in barrels	9¾	@ 11
Lard, in kegs	11¼	@ 13
Wool, Unwashed	00	@ 00
Wool, Washed	00	@ 00
Wool, Pulled	00	@ 00
Wool, Fleece, common	00	@ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	00	@ 00
Wool, Choice Merino	00	@ 00
Butter, Western, in kegs	12½	@ 14
Butter, Roll	16	@ 00
Cheese	9¼	@ 10
Coffee, Rio	10	@ 10½
Coffee, Java	.18	@ 17

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, May 18, 1858.

NEW YORK MARKET.

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Flour, State brands, extra	4.35	@ 4.20
Flour, Western	4.00	@ 4.10
Flour, Southern	4.50	@ 4.75
Rye Flour	3.00	@ 3.40
Corn Meal	3.60	@ 3.50
Wheat, white	1.20	@ 1.23
Wheat, red	97	@ 98
Corn, white	70	@ 73
Corn, yellow	73	@ 73
Rye	67	@ 68½
Oats	47	@ 50
Clover Seed	7.00	@ 8 00
Timothy Seed	2.12	@ 2 37½
Hay	45	@ 50
Hops	4	@ 7
Bacon, Shoulders	6¾	@ 7
Bacon, Sides	10	@ 00
Bacon, Hams	8½	@ 10
Pork, Mess	16.00	@ 18.00
Pork, Prime	13.50	@ 13.60
Beef	11.00	@ 10.00
Lard, in barrels	10½	@ 11
Lard, in kegs	11¼	@ 11½
Butter, Western	12	@ 20
Butter, State	22	@ 25
Cheese	7	@ 9
Coffee, Rio	10	@ 11¼
Coffee, Java	15½	@ 16
Wool, Unwashed	00	@ 00
Wool, Washed	00	@ 00
Wool, Pulled	00	@ 00
Wool, Fleece, common	00	@ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	00	@ 00
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Lime, common	80	@ 00

ANTIDOTE FOR POISON.

The Pain Killer.—Rev. T. Allen, writing from Tavoy, Burmah, Jan. 5, 1857, says: "Within the past four years, I have used and disposed of above five hundred bottles, but am now out. Please send me a fresh supply (through the Mission Rooms) as soon as you can, say two hundred bottles. I dare not be without it myself, and there are endless calls for it, both by Burmans and Karens. I always take it with me into the jungles, and have frequent occasions to use it, both on myself and others. One night, while sleeping in an open Zayate, I was awoke by a most excruciating pain in my foot. On my examination, I found I had been bitten by a centipede. I immediately applied the Pain Killer, and found instant relief. In less than one hour I was again asleep."

Rev. Mr. Hibbard, writing from Burmah to his father, says: "I have used Perry Davis's Pain Killer for coughs, colds, summer complaints, burns, and for the sting of scorpions, with uniform success. We always keep it where we can put our hand on it in the dark, if need be."

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Second—The Cincinnati and St. Louis Express leaves (including Sundays) at 5.05 P. M., connecting at Benwood at 9 30 A. M., with Express train for Cincinnati, reaching there at 8 P. M. next day, and connecting directly with Express train for Louisville, Cairo, and the Southwest, and for St Louis, Kansas, etc. Time from Baltimore to Cincinnati only 27 hours, and to St. Louis only 42 hours.

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BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1858.

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ADMISSION OF MINNESOTA.

We present the record of the yeas and nays on the Senate bill admitting Minnesota as a State, passed in the House on the 11th.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, said: When he offered his amendment providing for three Representatives in Congress, he supposed Minnesota would be entitled to that number by her population, but subsequent information had changed his opinion. He would therefore, in conclusion, withdraw his amendment, and insist upon the bill as it passed the Senate.

Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, then moved to amend the bill so as to provide for one Representative in Congress, instead of two.

Mr. Stephens called for the previous question; which was seconded, and the main question ordered.

Mr. Garnett called for the yeas and nays on agreeing to his amendment; which were ordered, and resulted—yeas 72, nays 117. So the amendment was rejected.

The question recurred on the substitute offered by Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, referring the Constitution back to a new Constitutional Convention, to be conformed to the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Mr. Sherman called for the yeas and nays, which were ordered, and resulted as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Anderson, Bingham, Blair, Chaffee, Clark of Conn, Clawson, Covode, Damrell, Davis of Maryland, Davis of Iowa, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Foster, Giddings, Gilman, Granger, Hall of Massachusetts, Harris of Maryland, Horton, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Kunkel of Pennsylvania, Marshall of Kentucky, Maynard, Morgan, Morris of Pennsylvania, Morse of Maine, Mott, Olin, Pettit, Purviance, Ready, Ricaud, Robbins, Royce, Sherman of Ohio, Stanton, Stewart of Pennsylvania, Tompkins, Trippe, Underwood, Wade, Walton, Wilson, Wood, Woodson, and Zollicoffer—51.

Nays—Messrs. Abbott, Adrain, Andrews, Arnold, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Bennett, Billinghurst, Bliss, Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Bryan, Buffinton, Burlingame, Burnett, Burns, Campbell, Caskie, Chapman, Clark of Missouri, Clay, Cobb, John Cochrane of New York, Cockerill, Colfax, Comins, Cragin, Craig of Missouri, Craige of North Carolina, Crawford, Curry, Curtis, Davidson, Davis of Indiana, Davis of Mississippi, Dewart, Dimmick, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Eustis, Farnsworth, Faulkner, Fenton, Florence, Foley, Garnett, Gartrell, Gillis, Gilman, Goode, Goodwin, Greenwood, Gregg, Groesbeck, Grow, Harlan, Harris of Illinois, Haskin, Hatch, Hickman, Hill, Hoard, Hopkins, Houston, Howard, Huyler, Jackson, Jenkins, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, J. Glancey Jones, Owen Jones, Kellogg, Kelley, Landy, Lawrence, Leach, Leidy, Leiter, Letcher, Lovejoy, Maclay, Mason, Matteson, Miller, Millson, Moore, Morrill, Morris of Illinois, Morse of New York, Niblack, Nichols, Palmer, Parker, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Phillips, Potter, Powell, Quitman, Reagan, Reilly, Ritchie, Ruffin, Russell, Sandidge, Scales, Scott, Shaw of Illinois, Shaw of North Carolina, Sickles, Singleton, Smith of Illinois, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Spinner, Stephens, Stevenson, Stewart of Maryland, Tappan, Taylor of New York, Taylor of Louisana, Thayer, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburn of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Watkins, White, Whiteley, Winslow, Wortendyke, Wright of Georgia, and Wright of Tennessee—141.

So the substitute was rejected.

The bill was then ordered to be read a third time, and the question recurring on its passage—

Mr. Kelsey, of New York, demanded the yeas and yeas; which were ordered, and resulted as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Abbott, Adrain, Andrews, Arnold, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Bennett, Billinghurst, Bliss, Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Bryan, Buffinton, Burlingame, Burnett, Burns, Campbell, Caruthers, Case, Caskie, Chaffee, Chapman, Clark of Missouri, Clay, Cobb, John Cochrane, Cockerill, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Craig of Missouri, Craige of North Carolina, Crawford, Curry, Curtis, Damrell, Davidson, Davis of Indiana, Davis of Mississippi, Dewart, Dick, Dimmick, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Farnsworth, Faulkner, Fenton, Florence, Foley, Gartrell, Gillis, Gilman, Goode, Goodwin, Greenwood, Gregg, Groesbeck, Grow, Hall of Massachusetts, Harlan, Harris of Illinois, Haskin, Hatch, Hickman, Hoard, Hopkins, Houston, Howard, Huyler, Jackson, Jenkins, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, J. Glancy Jones, Owen Jones, Kellogg, Kelley, Kilgore, Knapp, Landy, Lawrence, Leach, Leidy, Leiter, Letcher, Lovejoy, Maclay, McQueen, Marshall of Illinois, Mason, Matteson, Miller, Millson, Moore, Morris of Illinois, Morse of New York, Mott, Niblack, Nichols, Palmer, Parker, Pendleton, Pettit, Peyton, Phelps, Phillips, Pike, Potter, Powell, Purviance, Quitman, Reagan, Reilly, Ritchie, Russell, Sandidge, Savage, Scales, Scott, Shaw of Illinois, Shaw of North Carolina, Sickles, Singleton, Smith of Illinois, Smith of Tennessee, Spinner, Stephens, Stevenson, Stewart of Maryland, Stewart of Pennsylvania, Tappan, Taylor of New York, Taylor of Louisiana, Thayer, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, Washburn of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Watkins, White, Whiteley, Wilson, Winslow, Wood, Wortendyke, Wright of Georgia, and Wright of Tennessee—157.

Nays—Messrs. Anderson, Bingham, Blair, Clark of Connecticut, Clawson, Davis of Maryland, Davis of Iowa, Dean, Dodd, Edie, Eustis, Foster, Garnett, Giddings, Gilmer, Granger, Harris of Maryland, Hill of Georgia, Horton, Kelsey, Kunkel of Pennsylvania, Marshall of Kentucky, Maynard, Morgan, Morris of Pennsylvania, Morse of Maine, Olin, Ready, Ricaud, Robbins, Ruffin, Sherman of Ohio, Smith of Virginia, Stanton, Trippe, Underwood, Woodson, and Zolliooffer—38.

So the bill was passed.

From the New York Times.

THE KANSAS BILL PASSED.

The country can breathe again. Whatever may be their opinions of the Conference Kansas bill, we are confident that nine-tenths of the community will be glad to learn that it has been disposed of, and that Congress can now have a chance of attending to some other business. The bill passed the House yesterday by a vote of 112 to 103. All the Southern Democrats voted for it, and enough of the Northern Anti-Lecompton Democrats to secure its passage. The most surprising vote given is probably that of Mr. Cox, of Ohio, who had very strongly pledged himself to vote for no bill which did not submit the Lecompton Constitution to the popular vote, and who yet did not venture to say that, in his judgment, this bill would have that effect. In fact, no Northern Democrat seems to have been willing to express such an opinion. The emphatic and dictatorial declarations of Stephens, Shorter, and one or two other Ultra Southern men, that it did *not* submit the question to the popular vote, seems to have so terrified these Northern gentlemen, that none of them ventured to hint an opposite view of the case. Upon their part, the proceeding, we must confess, was a very humiliating display of personal and political pusillanimity. We cannot doubt their belief that the question is thus submitted; and they will certainly take that ground when they come to face their constituents at home. What motive but cowardice, or a partisan subserviency still more contemptible, should prevent their saying so in Congress, we cannot imagine. Our two Representatives, Messrs. Haskin and Clark, maintained their consistency and integrity to the last.

Our opinion of the bill itself has been frequently expressed. We think it *does* submit the Lecompton Constitution to the vote of the people of Kansas; and when the returns of the vote upon the land grant are received, we think the authors of the bill will concur in this opinion. The fact that the matter is left doubtful, or that there is room for a cavil or quibble on the subject, condemns the bill and brands its concoctors as tricksters and gamblers in politics, rather than men fit to be intrusted with the management of public affairs. Persons who, in the ordinary business of life, should resort to equivocations and phrases of questionable meaning, in order to entrap those with whom they are dealing into transactions which they would reject if fairly and openly presented, would be stained and distrusted forever after. It is one of the worst signs of the age, that a different morality prevails in political life, that the struggles of party are conducted upon principles which are despised on the race course, and that the lowest resorts of thimble-riggers and patent-safe operators must be explored to find a fitting parallel to the ordinary transactions of our highest National Councils. This bill is a sneaking, undignified, and disgraceful specimen of the worst kind of legislative legerdemain; and we have sufficient faith in the instincts of human nature to believe, that before many months, both its authors and its dupes will be heartily ashamed of it.

As a practical measure of legislation, it will amount to nothing. It simply postpones the final issue on the Kansas question. The land bribe will have no effect, for it gives the people nothing that they will not have in any event. Whenever, and under whatever Constitution, the State comes in, she will have public lands given her for her schools, university, and public buildings. This is never refused to any new State, and will not be refused to Kansas. This provision, therefore, is empty and worthless. It will not influence a hundred votes in Kansas. Nor will the threat of excluding the State for several years, if they do not vote for Lecompton, prove a whit more availing. It is a mere *brutum fulmen*, which binds nobody and will alarm nobody. What will the next Congress care for such a prohibition? What will the people of Kansas care for it? They have never asked, or desired, an enabling act from Congress—nor will a *dis*abling act affect them one whit more seriously. A new people are not to be so easily discouraged in making Constitutions. It is a sort of amusement which they will not lightly forego. The people of Kansas have a new one already on hand—and they will make them a good deal faster than Congress can reject them.

Apart from its meanness, no feature of this bill is more conspicuous than the political blindness and stolidity of its author. They have denounced the Republicans, in Kansas and in Congress, for seeking to prolong this contest, and make political capital out of it. And they have given them means and an opportunity of doing so, which neither chance nor their own ingenuity could ever have furnished. The struggle now goes to Kansas. The Lecompton Constitution will there be rejected. A new one will be immediately sent to Congress, and a fresh application will be made for admission. Here is another chance to wake up the issue at Washington and through the country. Admission cannot be resisted upon any grounds which will not stimulate Northern feeling, and keep alive the agitation which the friends of this bill profess to deplore. And every man, with half an eye, can see that every successive struggle gives occasion for a new victory of the North.

The political effect of passing this bill, therefore, will inevitably be to damage its authors and abettors, and to build up its opponents. The Republicans, and they alone, will reap solid and substantial benefits from its enactment. The Southern men who have pushed and passed it will meet the charge at home of having abandoned their original ground, and consented to the submission of the Lecompton No-Slavery Constitution to the vote of the people of Kansas. The Northern Democrats who opposed them at the outset, and then lost standing with the Administration party at home, have alienated their new friends by their retreat, and will find themselves overboard and helpless. The Administration has all the odium of attempting a bad measure without the ability to carry it, and they will all find the whole subject thrown back upon them, just when they will be most unwilling to meet it. This is very much like all the victories of this most extraordinary Administration—every new one is worse than a fresh disaster. If the Republicans do not reap positive and marked advantages from the passage of this bill, it will be because they lack the ability to use their opportunities aright.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN A. BINGHAM,

OF OHIO,

On the Conference Bill for the Admission of Kansas.

DELIVERED

In the House of Representatives, April 28, 1858.

The House having under consideration the report of the Conference Committee on Senate bill No. 16, for the admission of the State of Kansas into the Union—

Mr. BINGHAM said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I congratulate the country that the distinguished gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STEPHENS] has seen fit on this day to acknowledge what he has heretofore, during the last and present Congress, steadily and persistently denied, that the position of those with whom I have the honor to act on this floor and elsewhere, in regard to the power of Congress over the several Territories during the whole time in which they continue to be Territories, and up to the very moment of their transition from a Territory to a State, is the true position under the Constitution of the United States, and one to be recognised and legitimately enforced by Congressional legislation.

The gentleman from Georgia predicated his reply to the distinguished and learned gentleman from Maryland, [Mr. DAVIS,] among other things, upon the ground that the Congress of the United States had heretofore dictated to the people of Louisiana *conditions precedent* to their admission into the Union as a State. I desire, inasmuch as the gentleman from Georgia made special reference to the Louisiana enabling act, to call the attention of the House and of the country to its provisions, for the purpose of showing that it goes as far as any man on this side of the House has ever ventured to go in respect to the authority of Congress over the Territories, and its power to impose restrictions upon the admission of new States into the Union.

Admit that the act of Congress, passed in 1811, to authorize the people of Louisiana to form a State Constitution and Government, and to provide for their admission into the Union, was a just and constitutional enactment, and you admit all that we ask, all that any man can ask, upon which to predicate an argument against the proposition submitted to this House by the committee of conference, appointed through it, and in favor of the power of Congress not only to reject that bill, but to reject the Lecompton Constitution under any and all conceivable circumstances.

I do not know, nor do I care, whether the honorable gentleman from Georgia assumed and asserted the validity of the Louisiana act merely for the occasion, or not. I thank him for his concession that that act was a precedent which he might with propriety quote here against the argument of the gentleman from Maryland. Sir, if the gentleman's admission and assumption be right, if that statute be valid, it totally sweeps away the dogma of the sovereignty of new States in the formation of Constitutions preparatory to admission, against the expressed will of the whole people of the United States, as set forth by their Representatives in Congress assembled. The admission of the authority of Congress to impose upon new States the restrictions of that statute concedes the right of Congress to reject any new State until it shall have adopted a Constitution, not only republican, but also consistent with the Constitution of the United States, and also in conformity with such conditions precedent as Congress may deem just and proper to be imposed. I quote from that statute as follows:

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all free white male citizens of the United States, who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and resided within the said Territory at least one year previous to the day of election, and shall have paid a territorial, county, district, or parish tax; and all persons having in other respects the legal qualifications to vote for representatives in the General Assembly of the said Territory, be, and they are hereby, authorized to choose representatives to form a Convention, who shall be apportioned among the several counties, districts, and parishes, within the said Territory of Orleans, in such manner as the Legislature of the said Territory shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed sixty; and the elections for the representatives aforesaid shall take place on the third Monday in September next, and shall be conducted in the same manner as is now provided by the laws of the said Territory for electing members for the House of Representatives.

"SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the members of the Convention, when duly elected, be, and they are hereby, authorized to meet at the city of New Orleans, on the first Monday of November next, which Convention, when met, shall first determine, by a majority of the whole number elected, whether it be expedient or not, at that time, to form a Constitution and State Government for the people within the said Territory; and if it be determined to be expedient, then the Convention shall in like manner declare, in behalf of the people of the said Territory, that it adopts the Constitution of the United States; whereupon the said Convention shall be, and hereby is, authorized to form a Constitution and State Government for the people of the said Territory, provided the Constitution to be formed, in virtue of the authority herein given, shall be republican, and consistent with the Constitution of the United States; that it shall contain the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty; that it shall secure to the citizen the trial by jury in all criminal cases, and the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus*, conformably to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States; and that after the admission of the said Territory of Orleans as a State into the Union, the laws which such State may pass shall be promulgated, and its records of every description shall be preserved, and its judicial and legislative written proceedings conducted, in the language in which the laws and the judicial and legislative written proceedings of the United States are now published and conducted: *And provided, also*, That the said Convention shall provide, by an ordinance, irrevocable without the consent of the United States, that the people inhabiting the said Territory do agree and declare, that they forever disclaim all right or title to the waste or unappropriated lands lying within the said Territory; and that the same shall be and remain at the sole and entire disposition of the United States; and, moreover, that each and every tract of land sold by Congress shall be and remain exempt from any tax, laid by the order or under the authority of the State, whether for State, county, township, parish, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of five years from and after the respective days of the sales thereof; and that the lands belonging to citizens of the United States, residing without the said State, shall never be taxed higher than the lands belonging to persons residing therein; and that no taxes shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and that the river Mississippi, and the navigable rivers and waters leading into the same or into the Gulf of Mexico, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said State as to other citizens of the United States, without any tax, duty, impost, or toll, thereof imposed by the said State."

I am not here to find fault with the arguments of the learned gentleman from Maryland, [Mr. DAVIS.] I am not here to follow the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. STEPHENS,] with the new lights he has discovered in his way to this political Damascus. The latter gentleman has, if you please, become an ally of the Republicans, of those he is wont to call Black Republicans. He is working (not voting) with us today. He is agreeing with us that Congress is restricted in nothing but its own conviction and its own judgment, in regard to the limitations which it may rightfully impose, under the Constitution, upon new States, as conditions precedent to their admission into the Union.

To make good my assertion, I need only refer specifically to the limitations imposed by the Louisiana act of 1811, providing for the admission of the State of Louisiana, which I have just read, and which the gentleman from Georgia approves, and upon which he takes his stand.

That statute, I repeat, goes as far as I have ever ventured to go on this question, and as far as any gentleman upon this side has ever ventured to go. I beg the attention of the House to the conditions precedent and restrictions which that act imposes upon the sovereignty of Louisiana. First, there is the condition precedent that before the people of Louisiana, after the election of their delegates to a Convention, should take another step towards the organization of a State Government, their delegates, in Convention assembled, should, in their behalf, declare that they adopt the Constitution of the United States, together, of course, with all its limitations and restrictions upon State sovereignty. Having first performed this condition precedent, and not before, they might proceed to form a State Constitution; provided, says the statute—

"That said Constitution so to be formed shall be *republican*; shall be consistent with the Constitution of the United States; shall proclaim the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty; shall secure to every citizen charged with a criminal offence a trial by jury; shall secure, also, the writ of *habeas corpus*, as provided in the Constitution of the United States; shall provide that the legislation and judicial action of said State be conducted in the English language; shall surrender the right of the State over certain waste lands; also, its right to tax United States property."

Sir, this statute does not stop where certain gentlemen upon the other side of the House have been telling us that our power stops, to wit: with the mere declaration that the Constitution of the proposed new State should be *republican*. That statute, as I have shown, goes much further, and requires that the new Constitution shall conform to all the conditions and restrictions which I have enumerated. This statute further provides, in the fourth section, that the Constitution so framed shall be submitted to the Congress of the United States for approval or rejection. For what purpose? To give to the Congress of the United States the opportunity of judging whether these conditions precedent had been complied with; whether the people had, by their legally chosen delegates, adopted the Constitution of the United States; whether their new Constitution, contrary to and in contravention of their local laws—the civil law under which they then lived—secured the right of trial by jury in all criminal cases; whether the great writ of *habeas corpus* was secured to the citizens within the limits of the State; and whether, in addition, their Constitution declared, as required, the great and fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty. Unless these provisions appeared, Congress, by this fourth section, reserved the power to say that Louisiana should not be permitted to organize herself into a State Government for admission into this Union—should not, in fact, become a State, but should remain a Territory.

I ask the gentleman from Georgia, in order that I may make no mistake in this matter, whether he concedes that that enactment was constitutional; that it was the right of Congress, in 1811, under the Federal Constitution, to dictate to the people of Louisiana the condition precedent that their Constitution should be consistent with the Constitution of the United States? whether he concedes that it was competent for Congress, under that act of 1811, to dictate to that people the further condition precedent that they should secure the right of trial by jury, in all criminal cases, to citizens within the State? whether he concedes that it was competent for Congress, by that act, to dictate to the people of Louisiana, as a further condition precedent to the establishment of a State Government, and their admission into the Union, that they should secure the benefits of the right of *habeas corpus* in all cases, pursuant to the Constitution of the United States? and, finally, I ask him whether he concedes that it was competent for the Government of the United States, speaking through Congress by that act, to declare that that people should abolish their civil law, and take ours? If he concedes all this, as he did by citing that act, he concedes all that I claim, and all that my friends have ever claimed, in this great controversy. Who, sir, is to judge whether the Constitution, framed by a people within a Territory, "is consistent with the Constitution of the United States?" By that enactment, upon which the gentleman planted himself, it is manifestly declared that the Congress of the United States shall judge of that, and no one else. That is Republicanism—*Black Republicanism*.

Mr. CURTIS. I beg the gentleman's pardon; it is not Black Republicanism, as some understand it.

Mr. BINGHAM. It is my Black Republicanism. That legislation of 1811 is sustained by precedent and commanding authority. It was sanctioned and approved by a man who has been called the Father of the Constitution by way of pre eminence—Mr. Madison. In addition to his approval of the act, I have before me what he has written on this provision of the Constitution, that Congress "*may* admit new States into the Union." He says:

"In the Articles of Confederation, no provision is found on this important subject. Canada was to be admitted of right on her joining in the measures of the United States, and the other *colonies*, by which were evidently meant, the other British colonies, at the discretion of nine States. The eventual establishment of *new States* seems to have been overlooked by the compilers of that instrument. We have seen the inconvenience of this omission, and the assumption of power into which Congress has been led by it. With great propriety, therefore, has the new system supplied the defect. The general precaution that no new States shall be formed without the concurrence of the Federal authority * * * is consonant to the principles which ought to govern such transactions."

There is where I stand; there is where those with whom I act, in reference to this question, stand; that there can be no such thing as an existing State, organized within the national territories, outside of the Union, and without the consent of the Federal Government; that there can be, under our Constitution, no new State rightfully organized within a United States Territory, except it be organized in consonance with the Constitution of the United States, and with the *consent* of the Government of the United States given to such State organization, either previously or subsequently to its formation, and before the admission of such State into the Union. That is the position of Madison, that is the Republican position, and that seems to be the position of the gentleman from Georgia. Sir, other precedents justify me in saying that conditions and restrictions upon the organization of State Governments within the Territories may be imposed by the Congress of the United States. I speak now of new States organized within the Territories of the Union more particularly. I do not wish to speak now of the organization of new States within the territory of a single State of the Union. That belongs to another provision of the Constitution, and we have nothing to do with it in this issue. We have other precedents, sir, for the position we assume of this power of Congress to impose limitations and restrictions upon new States—precedents furnished by the action of the fathers of the Constitution.

Sir, there was a condition precedent in the act providing for the admission of the State which I have the honor in part to represent, and which authorized the people of Ohio to frame a State Constitution and Government, preparatory to their admission into the Union. That condition precedent was this:

"That the Constitution so to be formed by the people of the Territory of Ohio shall not be repugnant to the sixth article of the ordinance 1787."

What was that article? It was, sir:

"That Slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, should be forever prohibited."

Upon that condition the State of Ohio was permitted to organize a Constitution, and to come into the Union. The men who framed that statute, and who voted for it in this and in the other Hall, did not get this new idea into their heads, that the people of a Territory might frame a Constitution and organize a State Government, and *demand* admission into the Union upon the *simple condition* that their Constitution should be *republican*. What is a republican government? A republican government is simply a government where the sovereign authority is exercised through delegates or representatives chosen by the people. The Congress of 1802, which provided for the admission of the State of Ohio, thought that there was something more than a republican Constitution to be framed; and hence they put in the other condition precedent, that the Constitution of Ohio should not be repugnant to the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, which *forever* prohibited Slavery. Ohio came into the Union under that condition precedent; and for six years after her admission, and by force of this very restriction, she was denied the privilege of engaging in the foreign slave trade, which was being carried on by the original States under the express reservation of the Constitution of the United States, which authorized that trade until the year 1808 by *any of the original thirteen States*.

That same condition precedent was applied to the State of Illinois, and upon a strict compliance with that condition was she permitted to come into the Union. The same condition precedent was applied to the State Indiana; and without that condition complied with, she would not have been permitted to come into the Union. Her people petitioned Congress to repeal that restriction, and Congress reported, through Randolph, of Roanoke, against the repeal, and *refused to do it*.

Now, sir, on these conditions precedent I might rest this argument; but there is yet another of great significance—the celebrated joint resolution which authorized the admission of Texas into the Union. The whole territory embraced within the limits of that State—notwithstanding the asserted sovereignty of the State—was, by a condition precedent set forth in the act of admission, subjected to certain conditions and restrictions imposed upon no other State of the Union. Upon this point I challenge contradiction.

What is the general provision of the Constitution? Simply that new States *may* be admitted by Congress into the Union; also, that further provision, "that no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent [in the latter case] of the Legislatures of the States concerned, *as well as of Congress*." And what was the condition precedent annexed to the admission of the State of Texas? I will read the act, that there may be no misunderstanding of it. It is as follows:

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That Congress doth consent that the territory properly included within and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas, may be erected into a new State, to be called the State of Texas, with a republican form of government, to be adopted by the people of said Republic, by deputies in Convention assembled, with the consent of the existing Government, in order that the same may be admitted as one of the States of this Union.

"*And be it further resolved*, That the foregoing consent of Congress is given upon the following conditions, and with the following guarantees, to wit: *First*. Said State to be formed, subject to the adjustment, by this Government, of all questions of boundary that may arise with other Governments; and the Constitution thereof, with the proper evidence of its adoption by the people of said Republic of Texas, shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, to be laid before Congress, for its final action, on or before the first day of January, 1846. *Second*. Said State, when admitted into the Union, after ceding to the United States all public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports and harbors, navy and navy yards, docks, magazines, arms, armaments, and all other property and means pertaining to the public defence belonging to said Republic of Texas, shall retain all the public funds, debts, taxes, and dues of every kind, which may belong to or be due and owing said Republic; and shall also retain all the vacant and unappropriated lands lying within its limits, to be applied to the payment of the debts and liabilities of the said Republic of Texas, and the residue of said lands, after discharging said debts and liabilities, to be disposed of as said State may direct; but in no event are said debts and liabilities to become a charge upon the Government of the United States. *Third*. New States, of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to said State of Texas, and having sufficient population, may hereafter, by the consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of 36° 30′ north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without Slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire. And in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri Compromise line, Slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited."

There is a restriction upon State sovereignty—Texas as a State, as well as the new States hereafter to be formed within the limits of Texas, are bound and fettered by that restriction—by its terms, no new State can hereafter be formed within the territory of Texas, and admitted into the Union, unless such State so to be formed, north of 36° 30′ north latitude, shall forever exclude Slavery.

Sir, with these precedents, and the great and commanding authorities of Jefferson and Madison, who signed the statutes I have cited, it seems to me it is not necessary to multiply arguments upon the subject of the power of Congress to impose these restrictions, and thus limit State sovereignty.

Mr. GIDDINGS. I wish to make one suggestion here; and that is, that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STEPHENS] voted for those resolutions for the admission of Texas.

Mr. BINGHAM. That is consistent with his argument here to-day, in claiming that the Congress of the United States may impose conditions precedent upon the admission of new States within the limits of the Constitution. That vote of his asserted the right of Congress to exclude Slavery within new States. That is where I want to place him; that is where he belongs, and where I belong. I do not recognise the right of five hundred men, or five hundred thousand men, to establish any State Constitution, or Government, anywhere within the territories of the United States, without the consent of the people of the United States, expressed either previously or subsequently, through their Representatives in Congress assembled.

This brings me, therefore, to the point now before us. I do not find fault with this bill because it asserts the power of Congress to annex conditions precedent upon which alone the State of Kansas is to come into the Union. I find fault with this bill because, in my judgment, it is a great crime, not only against the people of Kansas, but against the Constitution of our common country, and against the sacred rights of human nature.

Gloze that bill over with what words you may, it is a *written crime*; enact it into a law, and it will be a legislative atrocity engrossed upon parchment. Dignify this act with what title you please, history, stern, truthful, impartial history, will entitle it "An act to take away the liberties of American citizens." That this bill is a crime, I will try to show. In the first place, this bill does not submit, as the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STEPHENS] very frankly acknowledges, to the people of Kansas the question, whether they will *approve* or *reject* the Lecompton Constitution.

Instead of that, sir, it submits to them a *bribe* in the way of lands and money, and says to them, "if you will vote for this proposition, you may come into the Union under the Constitution framed at Lecompton on the 7th day of November, 1857; but if you reject this bribe, the penalty which will follow shall be that you shall not come into the Union as a State until you shall have a population equal to the ratio of representation at the time of your subsequent application." I say such a thing is without precedent in the legislation of the country; is unauthorized by and in direct contravention of the Constitution of the United States. There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States which gives colorable authority for such legislation. There is nothing in the past legislation of this country that gives colorable authority for it. It is a simple act of despotism, attempted to be enacted here by the Congress of the United States, under cover of that Constitution which bears the peerless name of Washington. It were better, sir, that that sacred instrument should perish as though smote by the lightning of heaven, than that any such act as that now proposed should be placed upon our statute hook. What is it? Why, that the Congress of the United States shall dictate to freemen that they shall accept under pains and penalties a bribe, and thereby become subject to a Constitution which they never made, which they abhor, and which they have condemned! I say, and say it without the fear of contradiction, that the genius of our Constitution is this: that new State Constitutions must emanate from the people within the limits of the proposed State, and *from no other source*. In framing a State Constitution, they are subject to the limitations of the Federal Constitution, and the limitations or restrictions imposed by acts of Congress. They may do anything in framing their Constitution that is not inconsistent with the provisions of that instrument, or of such restrictive enactments. The moment they violate these provisions, their Constitution ought to be rejected by Congress. That is our position.

But this bill assumes the very contrary, and provides that Congress shall adopt a Constitution which was framed by conspirators at Lecompton. The people of Kansas never framed it, by delegates or otherwise. On the contrary, on the 4th day of last January, ten thousand of the lawful voters of that Territory, a large majority of all its qualified electors, condemned this instrument at the ballot-box. They never framed that instrument. It was framed, I admit, by delegates at Lecompton; but, as I had occasion to say on a former occasion, they were delegates whom the people had never chosen, nor authorized to be chosen, and they only sat in safety at Lecompton under cover of Federal bayonets. That fact is notorious; and the President of the United States, who is today, by the use of his patronage, engineering this infernal proposition through the Congress of the United States, came before this body, and, by his message of the 2d day of February last, concedes to us and to the world, that the people of Kansas never framed this Constitution. What does he say, sir? Why, he says in that message, amongst other things, that ever since the day of his inauguration—namely, the 4th of March, 1857—the people of Kansas have been in open rebellion against the Government established there by Congress. He says, further, that they wished during all that time to establish a revolutionary Government, under the so-called Topeka Constitution. He says, further, and therein lies the confession of the truth of this matter, that they were arrayed in such numbers against the existing authorities in that Territory, that they would have overturned the Territorial Government—out of which sprung this Lecompton Constitution—but for the fact, to use his own words, *that that Government was protected from their assaults by the troops of the United States*.

Now, I submit to you, sir, whether that is not a fair, unequivocal, open confession of the fact that the great majority of the people of Kansas *never* assented, from first to last, to any portion of that machinery which has resulted in the production of this Lecompton Constitution? Why, then, attempt to force it upon them with this *penalty* threatened on the one hand, and this *bribe* tendered on the other? Do you not impose an unjust and unfair condition by this bill, when you therein declare that, if the people accept *this bribe*, they shall come into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, although they have only fifty thousand population; but if they *reject* the *bribe*, they should not come in under a Constitution of their choice till they shall have a population of ninety-three thousand four hundred, the present ratio of representation, or a still greater number, if before that time the ratio be increased?

But, sir, there is another objection to this measure. Suppose that the people of Kansas were permitted to vote directly upon this Constitution—I say that the Congress of the United States has duties to perform which it is not at liberty to waive; and one of these duties is to see to it that no Constitution shall go into operation with the consent of Congress, which denies the right of a majority of the *qualified voters* to amend, alter, or change it, at their pleasure. Such a Constitution is not *republican*.

Now, sir, I assert that this Lecompton Constitution, by express provisions, excludes the majority from this right of amendment. What are its provisions in this respect? First, that in any election to be held in said State, the qualifications of a voter shall be, that he be a male *citizen of the United States*, above the age of twenty-one years. (Article 8, section 1.) And section fourteen of the schedule provides that the Constitution shall never be amended or altered, "*unless a majority of all the citizens* of the State shall first have *voted* for a Convention." Now, every man knows that, under our free institutions, every person born of free parents within the jurisdiction of the United States, and who are residents thereof, is a citizen of the United States, and therefore of the State of his residence, whether such persons be male or female. The records of the courts, in a thousand instances, bear witness to the fact that women and children, as well as men of *full age*, are citizens of the United States, and of the several States. This Lecompton Constitution limits the right of suffrage to *male citizens of the United States* over twenty-one years of age, and at the same time said instrument provides that it shall *never* be amended or altered without the consent and approval of *a majority of all the citizens by their votes* at the polls. It simply requires an *impossibility*, when it says that a majority of the citizens, men, women, and children, of the Territory, shall assent, *by ballot*, to the Convention for amendment, when it declares that at any election only male citizens of the United States over twenty-one years of age shall vote. That is the language and legal effect of this instrument. No man will undertake to gainsay that the language is there as I have quoted it. The words are plain; and when the words are plain, there is no room for construction, and no construction can be tolerated.

But, Mr. Speaker, I must hasten to the conclusion of what I have to say. There is another provision in this Constitution to which I desire to call attention; and that is, the provision that it shall never be so amended as to affect the ownership of property in slaves. What becomes of gentlemen's notions of State sovereignty, if the Congress of the United States can give force and effect to such a law as this? Does not every man here know that even if my construction of the Constitution were wrong, and a majority of the qualified voters of Kansas were to attempt to amend their Constitution so as to abolish the ownership of property in slaves, after this atrocious thing had become the fundamental law of the State by the assent of Congress, such amendment would be held by that citadel of Slavery, which is located in the base of this Capitol, to be in violation of vested rights, and therefore void? The whole power of the General Government would be arrayed to sustain that vested right, if you please, against the expressed will of a majority of the people of Kansas.

Sir, this is the first instance in which the Congress of the United States has attempted, by formal enactment, to give *perpetuity* to this institution of Slavery within the limits and jurisdiction of a sovereign State. As a State-Rights man, standing here, pledged as I am to maintain the rights of the people and the rights of the States, I protest against this dangerous assumption of power, and claim that it is the right of the sovereign people within the limits of a State to abolish the institution of Slavery at their pleasure. Does any Representative from the South assert this power to be in Congress?

I do not object to restraints upon States in favor of liberty, and to the end that the Constitution of our common country may be upheld in full force, and that the great and sacred rights of human nature may not be infringed; but I protest against this Lecompton conspiracy, which denies the right of self-government, and ignores the will of the majority, if expressed, or attempted to be expressed, against *despotism*. Let gentlemen beware how they attempt, even under the power and shelter of a great central Government, more than imperial in its resources, to crush out the heart and conscience of the people. GOD IS IN HISTORY. Let gentlemen give heed to its lessons of the terrible retribution which sometimes overtakes those who seek to establish an odious and hated despotism over the minds and conscience, the brain and heart of freemen.

Sir, I claim for myself the same right as did the Congress of 1811, to inquire "whether this *Lecompton Constitution is consistent with the provisions of the Federal Constitution?*" And, sir, I have come to the conclusion that it is not only *inconsistent* with the Constitution of the United States, but that it is in direct conflict with the rights of every man, woman, and child, within the Territory of Kansas.

Mr. MAYNARD. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. BINGHAM. No, sir. If you please, I prefer to conclude what I have to say without interruption. This instrument declares that the right of property in slaves and their increase is not within the control of *the majority of the people* of the State; that this right is before and higher than any constitutional sanction. This instrument asserts another provision, the brutal despotism of which can hardly be equalled, except that recently exercised by Nicholas, whose hands were red with the blood of murdered Poland and the assassinated liberty of Hungary. It is the provision which dooms freemen, guilty of no crime, *to perpetual exile*. Such are some of the provisions of this infernal instrument framed at Lecompton, for which we are now called upon to vote.

What, sir, are the arguments addressed to us to induce us to give our assent to this instrument? The President of the United States stoops from the position of his great office, hitherto made illustrious by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison—he comes here into the Hall of this House of Representatives, and tells us that this Lecompton Constitution, with all its atrocious provisions, is eminently *reasonable* and proper, because Kansas, says he, "is at this moment as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina." And he does not stop with this. The President has officially declared to us that these slave provisions are *just and reasonable*. Justice, sir, to sell a man's wife? Justice to sell a child's mother? Justice to drive a man, guilty of no crime, away from the land of his birth, from the scenes of his childhood, from the graves of his kindred? Justice to deny to a man the fruits of his own toil? Justice to deny to a man the enjoyments of his own home? Justice to deny to a man the presence and prattle of his own children? Justice to deny to a man the convictions of his own soul? Justice! Justice, sir, is the unchanging and eternal rule of right; it is the attribute of the great God of Nature. It dwelt with him before worlds were; it will abide with him when worlds perish! By the judgment of the Pagan and Christian world, it is INJUSTICE to deny to any man his right.

Mr. Speaker, it is not justice to wantonly subject men, women, and children, at the *arbitrary* will of another, to stripes and imprisonment, to hunger and thirst, to cold and nakedness, robbery and murder. To enslave a man is to murder him by slow torture. This will not pass for justice among men, until men forget the distinctions between right and wrong, good and evil, virtue and vice.

By this bill, sir, we are not only to sanction the monstrous atrocity of chattel Slavery, but we are to say, if the majority will accept the bribe, that atrocity shall be perpetual. We are to agree that the children of wrong and oppression in Kansas shall have no deliverance in the future; that they and their children shall, from generation to generation, toil on in the house of their bondage; in the words of this instrument, that *no alteration shall be made therein to affect the ownership of property in slaves*. Sir, the American Congress, by this enactment, is to declare that if the majority will accept the *bribe*, the Congress of the United States will perpetuate the horrid lie that one man may of right sell his brother for thirty pieces of silver, as Judas sold our Lord!

I say to gentlemen, you may pass the bill, but you cannot make the lie perpetual. A lie cannot live forever; it has no vitality in it. Sooner or later, it must perish. Perpetuate the atrocity that a majority may of right enslave the minority, or drive it into returnless exile! Make this rule of wrong perpetual! There is nothing perpetual but God, His truth, His justice, and the creatures of His hand. I say to gentlemen on the other side, you have it in your power to save our country from this foul dishonor. Why do you hesitate to deny your assent to this great wrong? Is it because you believe with the President "that Slavery exists in Kansas under and by virtue of the Constitution of the United States?" Is it because you believe, with certain political economists of our day, that Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man? If that be your conviction, act it out; say so in words. It is your right and your duty to declare it. And by an open, manly avowal of it, you will command the respect of those who differ from you for your candor, if you can never hope to command their approval of your principles. Declare openly your true purpose and intent. For God's sake, do not shirk this great issue under false, and, if I may be allowed the expression without meaning to be offensive, fraudulent pretences of State rights and popular sovereignty. Why do you hesitate to say openly what your support of this bill manifestly imports—that it is your purpose to establish and uphold chattel Slavery in Kansas under the forms of law and at all hazards? Why do you hesitate to avow this purpose? Is it not because you feel and know that its distinct avowal would electrify the nation, and summon it to a stern, united, defiant resistance?

I say to gentlemen on the other side, who compose the majority of this House, you may pass this bill into a law; you may induce the majority to accept its proffered bribe; you may thereby impose upon that young Territory the shame and crime and curse of this brutal atrocity; you may thereby shake down the pillars of this beautiful fabric of free government, and drench this land in fraternal blood; but you can never give permanence to such an act of perfidy, to such a system of wrong. It is too late for that; it is the high noon of the nineteenth century. The whole heavens are filled with the light of a new and better day. Kings hold their power with a tremulous and unsteady hand. The bastiles and dungeons of tyrants, those graves of human liberty, are giving up their dead. There is a pause in the world's great battle. Its banners of conflict, which but yesterday streamed from Paris to St. Petersburgh, are furled; and to-day, the mighty heart of the world stands still, awaiting the resurrection of the nations, and that final triumph of the right, foretold in prophecy and invoked in song, when the Angel of Deliverance shall lead captivity captive. In this hour of the world's repose and the world's hope, shall America, the child and the stay of the earth's old age, prove false to her most sacred traditions, false to her holiest trust, and, by this proposed enactment, consent to strike down Liberty in her own temple, and forge chains for her own children?

TO REPUBLICANS.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN ROOMS,
Washington, May 8, 1858.

In a few months, nearly every Northern State elects her members of the House of Representatives for the next Congress. The importance, to the Republican Party, of securing a majority in that Congress, cannot be overestimated. Indeed, it will be almost an indispensable requisite to success in the next Presidential contest. Shall we have a working majority in the next House of Representatives? If we are to obtain such a result, it will be through strenuous efforts on the part of our friends. We have a wily and unscrupulous enemy to contend with. They have an army of thousands at work, in the shape of postmasters and other officials. Will we remain idle? We trust not.

In order that we may have the majority, as above mentioned, we must secure about thirty Representatives from the North, over and above the number we have in the present Congress. There are about that number of Democratic (so called) members now in Congress from the North, who were elected by majorities under two thousand. Districts thus represented we *can* and *must* secure. How are we to do it? This question we propose to answer.

One of the agencies by which this change can be effected is, by a thorough and free distribution, in these mis-represented districts, of such documents as will be best calculated to bring the judgment to right conclusions and the will to just actions on the great political question of the day—the usurpation of the *slave power*, through the servility and corruptions of the Propagandist party. We need hardly suggest that the present is a most favorable time, in consideration of the chaotic state of the dominant party, to accomplish what we desire. And yet, if care be not taken, this very disruption of the Democratic party may prove the destruction of our own party, as many seem to be relying so confidently in its inuring to our benefit, that they deem it unnecessary to put forth any special effort. To all such we say, beware.

Impressed with the importance of flooding these Administration or Pro-Slavery Congressional districts, *at once*, with such documents as will aid in accomplishing the objects we desire, the National Republican Association at Washington City, which was organized in 1855, solely on the voluntary principle, with no salaried officers or agents, and which published and circulated some 4,000,000 of documents during the last Presidential campaign, have resolved to take this responsibility and labor upon themselves, knowing the truthfulness of the old adage, "that what is everybody's business is nobody's business." In fact, no other organization has the same facilities for the performance of this work.

Here, at the seat of the General Government, where the Congress of the United States is assembled, we have peculiar facilities for getting up political tracts and documents, as, also, through the members of Congress, of obtaining lists of names, and having documents enveloped and sent *free of postage*, which cannot be afforded elsewhere.

We propose, at this time, to devote our attention solely to those districts now *mis-represented* in Congress, relying upon the Republican members of Congress to take all necessary care of their own districts, which, if faithfully attended to, will impose upon them as heavy a tax of time and money as can or ought to be expected of them, and the extent of which but few have any just conceptions.

But, notwithstanding this great amount of voluntary service brought to our aid in the enveloping and circulating of documents, still there are other heavy expenses attending it, which must be paid for—such as printing, paper, and preparation of documents.

Now, in order to carry out our proposed plan of a *free circulation of suitable documents in mis-represented Congressional districts, funds* must be placed at our disposal for that object. The Administration Party are already at work, with no lack of funds. *Each State* has its separate organization in this city, composed of Government clerks, (whose name is legion,) and upon whose salaries a regular percentage is levied by the chiefs of bureaus, to meet the expenses.

The Republican Party has no such machinery to put in operation, nor do we think it just and proper that such degrading means should be resorted to in order to raise funds for party purposes. Whatever funds may be used by it for party purposes is the *free-will* offering of a *free people* in the *free States*. And to such we now present our case, and *appeal for funds*, to enable us to carry on the work we have undertaken and in which they have a common interest.

We hope every Republican or opponent of the present Administration, whose eye this appeal may meet, will consider it personally addressed to him, and will forward, without delay, whatever sum he may be disposed to contribute, and urge upon his friends to do likewise.

The cause of *Freedom* demands prompt and efficient action in the part of all her votaries.

We need for immediate use $5,000. Shall we have it?

Contributions may be sent direct to our Secretary, (L. Clephane,) or during the session of Congress to any of the Republican members.

All contributions received will be duly acknowledged. B. B. FRENCH, *President.*
LEWIS CLEPHANE, *Secretary.*

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